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The Growth of
SARTOR RESARTUS

By D. L. MAULSBY

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TO VIRIL
ABROU LAC

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D. L. MAULSBY.

ABBREVIATIONS.

[The abbreviations are arranged in alphabetical order. The paging of the American Edition of 1838-39 follows the name of the essay, for purpose of comparison with other editions.]

		VOL.	PAGE.
B	= Burns, in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, Boston, 1838, - - - - -	I,	287-350
Bi	= Biography, - - - - -	III,	96-113
Bo	= Boswell's Life of Johnson, - - - - -	III,	114-194
C	= Carlyle. - - - - -		
C C	= Count Cagliostro, - - - - -	IV,	1- 78
Ch	= Characteristics, - - - - -	III,	46- 92
C R	= Corn-Law Rhymes, - - - - -	III,	269-302
D	= Diderot, - - - - -	III,	303-381
D G	= Death of Goethe, - - - - -	III,	195-205
E G L	= Early German Literature = German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, -	II,	383-448
G	= Goethe, - - - - -	I,	220-286
G H	= Goethe's Helena, - - - - -	I,	162-219
G L	= State of German Literature, - - - - -	I,	28- 94
G P	= German Playwrights, - - - - -	I,	390-435
G Po	= Goethe's Portrait, - - - - -	III,	93- 95
G W	= Goethe's Works, - - - - -	III,	206-268
H	= On History, - - - - -	II,	244-257
H A	= On History Again, - - - - -	III,	382-392
J	= Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, - - - - -	I,	1- 27
J A	= Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again, - - - - -	II,	172-243
L H	= Life of Heyne, - - - - -	I,	351-389
L P	= Luther's Psalm, - - - - -	II,	258-262
L S	= Life of Schiller, N. Y., Phila. and Boston, 1846.		
L W	= Life and Writings of Werner, Essays, Boston, 1838,	I,	95-161
M	= MacMechan. - - - - -		
N L	= The Nibelungen Lied, - - - - -	II,	319-382
S	= Schiller, - - - - -	II,	263-318
S R	= MacMechan's Edition of Sartor Resartus, Boston, 1896. - - - - -		
S T	= Signs of the Times, Essays, Boston, 1838, - -	II,	82-142
T S	= Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry, -	III,	1- 42
V	= Voltaire, - - - - -	II,	1- 81

THE GROWTH OF SARTOR RESARTUS.

The object of this essay is to show that the leading ideas of *Sartor Resartus*, the principal devices of its method, and even the equivalents of many of its phrases, are anticipated in Carlyle's earlier essays. In short, that the *Sartor*, instead of springing full-grown from the head of its author, and thus appearing to be little less than a miracle, is in fact a growth, an "epitome of all that Carlyle thought and felt in the course of the first thirty-five years of his residence on this planet."⁽¹⁾ In the collection of material for the demonstration of this thesis, the chief source for the text of the earlier essays has been the American reprint of 1838-1839. It has seemed best to include the essays published before August, 1834, the date of the appearance of the last instalment of *Sartor* as a magazine article, rather than to draw the line at August, 1831, when Carlyle was unsuccessfully hawking his completed manuscript among the London book-sellers. For, although he may have left his sheets unrevised upon the shelf, in the interim, it was hardly like him to do so, and there is abundant evidence that the essays which appeared nearest to the publication of *Sartor* were written with his greater work freshly before him. They, at least, profited by the juxtaposition of their elder brother. The date of first publication, then, is adopted, as furnishing a definite basis of reckoning. The hack-work done in earlier years for Brewster's Encyclo-

(1) MacMechan's *S. R.*, xxi.

pædia has been cursorily dismissed, because, on inspection, its value seemed small for the purpose in hand. So, too, the unfinished novel "Wotton Reinfred," and Carlyle's Diary, both used by Professor MacMechan, have not been here considered. A note at the close of the essay refers to one or two other books, consulted later.

The following essays have been examined in the preparation of this study: *The Life of Friedrich Schiller*, originally published in the London Magazine, October, 1823, to September, 1824, published in book form, London, 1825, reprinted in America in 1833, and in 1846, the last-named American edition being used herein; *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter*, first printed in the Edinburgh Review, June, 1827; *State of German Literature*, Edinburgh Review, October, 1827; *Life and Writings of Werner*, Foreign Review, January, 1828; *Goethe's Helena*, Foreign Review, April, 1828; *Goethe*, Foreign Review, July, 1828; *Burns*, Edinburgh Review, December, 1828; *The Life of Heyne*, Foreign Review, October, 1828; *German Playwrights*, Foreign Review, January, 1829; *Voltaire*, Foreign Review, April, 1829; *Novalis*, Foreign Review, July, 1829; *Signs of the Times*, Edinburgh Review, June, 1829; *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter Again*, Foreign Review, January, 1830; *On History*, Fraser's Magazine, November, 1830; *Luther's Psalm*, Fraser's Magazine, January, 1831; *Schiller*, Fraser's Magazine, March, 1831; *The Nibelungen Lied*, Westminster Review, July, 1831; *German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Foreign Quarterly Review, October, 1831; *Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry*, Edinburgh Review, March, 1831; *Characteristics*, Edinburgh Review, December, 1831; *Goethe's Portrait*, Fraser's Magazine, March, 1832; *Biography*, Fraser's Magazine, April, 1832; *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, Fraser's Magazine, May, 1832; *Death of Goethe*, New Monthly Magazine, June, 1832; *Goethe's Works*, Foreign Quarterly Review, August, 1832; *Corn-Law Rhymes*, Edinburgh Review, July, 1832; *Diderot*, Foreign Quarterly Review, April, 1833; *On History Again*, Fraser's Magazine, May, 1833; *Count Cagliostro*, Fraser's Magazine, July and August, 1833. In addition to the above-named, all of which appear in the American reprint, there is a translation in Fraser's Magazine, Febru-

ary and May, 1830, of *Jean Paul Friedrich Richter's Review of Madame de Staël's Allemagne*, which has been consulted, as also the brief paper on *Schiller, Goethe and Madame de Staël* in *Fraser*, March, 1832.

The text of *Sartor* used as the basis of reference is that of Professor MacMechan's edition of the work, Boston, 1896. Too much can hardly be said in praise of the path-finding of this pioneer among the underbrush of Carlyle's learning, and, if it is not here more frequently commended in detail, it is because a single hearty acknowledgment is left to bear the greater part of the burden of obligation. But, whenever an extract is used previously cited by Professor MacMechan, due credit is given, although, it is fair to say, the wealth of material at hand is so great that such repetition has been seldom necessary.

A natural order of procedure will be to consider first the matter and manner of *Sartor Resartus* as a whole, and, after these general considerations, to descend to an inspection of the work, chapter by chapter, in its relation to the earlier essays. It is true that the more salient resemblances concern the setting which Carlyle chose to give his thought, and that the details of this setting—as the use of the German professor as mouth-piece—appear full-grown in those essays nearly preceding the appearance of *Sartor* itself. But in the second if the more tedious portion of this study there is abundant evidence that the author had been nursing his thoughts for years before they found utterance in his most characteristic work.

The fundamental assertion of Carlyle's treatise on clothes is that spirit is the central reality. Characteristically, more space is given in the earlier essays to upbraiding the present age for its materialistic tendencies than to the enforcement of the essential nature of spirit. But, as early as 1827, in defending the Germans against the charge of mysticism, Carlyle said: "In the field of human investigation, there are objects of two sorts: First, the *visible*, including not only such as are material and may be seen by the bodily eye; but all such, likewise, as may be represented in a *shape*, before the mind's eye, or in any way pictured there: And, secondly, the *invisible*, or such as are not only unseen by human eyes, but as cannot be seen by

any eye ; not objects of sense at all ; not capable, in short, of being *pictured* or imaged in the mind, or in any way represented by a *shape* either without the mind or within it. If any man shall here turn upon us, and assert that there are no such invisible objects ; that whatever cannot be so pictured or imagined (meaning *imaged*) is nothing, and the science that relates to it is nothing ; we shall regret the circumstance. We shall request him, however, to consider seriously and deeply within himself what he means simply by these two words, GOD and his own SOUL ; and whether he finds that visible shape and true existence are here also one and the same ? If he still persist in denial, we have nothing for it but to wish him good speed on his own separate path of inquiry ; and he and we will agree to differ on this subject of mysticism, as on so many more important ones."⁽¹⁾ The Kantian philosophy is, in continuance, stoutly defended, although Carlyle does not pretend to mastery of the subject. The passage quoted may stand as an indication of the writer's growing regard for the transcendental philosophy, although this passage does not stand alone. Besides the parallels to particular portions of *Sartor*, to be cited later, we find Carlyle, on two occasions, showing his position as regards the great fact of spirit by assailing those who hold opposite views.⁽²⁾ It was in the early literature of Germany that he found an acceptance of spiritual realities which was lacking among his contemporaries, and he looked forward to the return of a national literature in England that should grow out of spiritual life.⁽³⁾ Other citations may be made,⁽⁴⁾ but perhaps it will suffice here to call attention to a potent remark of Richter's, translated by Carlyle, referring to "this material world, whose life, foundation, and essence is Spirit !"⁽⁵⁾

That his age is materialistic, "mechanical", utilitarian, is to Carlyle an ever-depressing fact, not to be blinked nor palliated. In the essay *Characteristics*, religion, literature, and philosophy are found to be tainted with the current mechanical

(1) G L 76 and 77. (2) T S 30; D 375. (3) E G L 448. (4) As Ch 58, II. 29-31; E G L 400. I. 32; N L 342, I. 24. (5) J A 182.

tendency, and elsewhere the father of the movement is called by name: "From Locke's time downwards, our whole Metaphysics have been physical; not a spiritual Philosophy, but a material one. The singular estimation in which his essay was so long held as a scientific work, (for the character of the man entitled all he said to veneration,) will one day be thought a curious indication of the spirit of these times. His whole doctrine is mechanical, in its aim and origin, in its methods and its results. It is a mere discussion concerning the origin of our consciousness, or ideas, or whatever else they are called; a genetic history of what we see *in* the mind. But the grand secrets of Necessity and Free-will, of the mind's vital or non-vital dependence on matter, of our mysterious relations to Time and Space, to God, to the universe, are not, in the faintest degree, touched on in these inquiries; and seem not to have the smallest connection with them."⁽¹⁾ Time and again Carlyle rails at "our new Tower-of-Babel era,"⁽²⁾ in which politics, like all the rest, proves man's faith in mechanism.⁽³⁾ It is worth noting that here too Richter had preceded Carlyle, saying, as translated by the latter: "Our present time . . . is indeed a criticising and critical time, hovering between the wish and the inability to believe."⁽⁴⁾

As corollary to faith in spiritual truth is the proposition that the understanding is powerless to reach and to grasp such truth. In Carlyle's own words: "To him, for whom '*intellect*, or the power of knowing and believing is still synonymous with *logic*, or the mere power of arranging and communicating,' there is absolutely no proof discoverable of a Divinity."⁽⁵⁾ And again, in another application: "For if the Poet, or Priest, or by whatever title the inspired thinker may be named, is the sign of vigor and well-being; so likewise is the Logician, or uninspired thinker, the sign of disease, probably of decrepitude and decay."⁽⁶⁾ This doctrine is derived from the Kantian philosophy, as is made clear more than once.⁽⁷⁾ Carlyle makes no room for "the mere logician",⁽⁸⁾ but consistently holds: "Of

(1) S T 152. (2) G W 268. (3) S T 154, 157; V 1; H 257, I. 16; Ch 69, 90; Bo 145, II. 9, 10; D 359, I. 24. (4) N 142. (5) D 362. (6) Ch 62. (7) G L 89, Ch. 89. (8) C C 26.

final causes, man, by the nature of the case, can *prove* nothing; knows them (if he know anything of them) not by glimmering flint-sparks of logic, but by an infinitely higher light of intuition."⁽¹⁾ In his earliest considerable work concerning German literature, there are traces of the same belief.⁽²⁾

In pursuit of what may be called the philosophy of *Sartor Resartus*, there are several minor doctrines that deserve mention. One of these concerns the dualistic nature of man. Professor Diogenes Teufelsdröckh illustrates this quality: "However, in Teufelsdröckh, there is always the strangest Dualism: light dancing, with guitar-music, will be going on in the fore-court, while by fits from within comes the faint whimpering of woe and wail."⁽³⁾ Again, Teufelsdröckh had "the look truly of an angel, though whether of a white or of a black one might be dubious."⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, the meaning of the Professor's name (Born-of-Zeus Devil's-Dung),⁽⁵⁾ and the whole treatment of the character, are intended to make prominent that combination of heavenward and earthward tendencies which Carlyle saw in every human being. "What, indeed, is man's life generally but a kind of beast-godhood; the god in us triumphing more and more over the beast; striving more and more to subdue it under his feet? Did not the Ancients, in their wise, perennially significant way, figure Nature herself, their sacred All or PAN, as a portentous commingling of these two discords; as musical, humane, oracular in its upper part, yet ending below in the cloven, hairy feet? The union of melodious, celestial Freewill and Reason, with foul Irrationality and Lust; in which, nevertheless, dwelt a mysterious unspeakable Fear and half-mad *panic* Awe; as for mortals there well might! And is not man a microcosm, or epitomized mirror of that same universe . . . ?"⁽⁶⁾ Boswell, Johnson, Diderot, and many another subject, furnish further illustrations of this doctrine, and the essays are dotted with allusions to it.⁽⁷⁾ That it has colored even Carlyle's manner of expression will be shown when his style is considered.

(1) D 363. See also 367, l. 34. (2) L S 68; 143, l. 7. (3) S R 169, 23. See also 136, 21; 148, 33 ff; 186, 14 & 15; 249, 10; ff; 265, 25. (4) S R 12, 11; Also 214, 2. (5) For the significance of names, see S R 77 & 78; Also 144, 19. (6) Bo 129. Cited by M. p. 377. See also S R 58, 1-15; 106, 33 & 34; 115, 31 ff; 117, 22 ff; 131, 2; 190, 12; 201, 16 ff; 217, 28; 220, 8 ff; 221, 22-222, 5; 236, 11 ff. (7) See L S 187, 13; 254, 22. Also Bi 98, 7; Bo 115, 3; 145, 17; D 368, 5; H A 388, 21; V 38.

Meantime, there is opportunity to observe that, in Carlyle's view, life, in consequence of the dualism of human nature, is a battle. The necessity which wars against man's free-will is the occasion of his temptations, and may be the occasion of his struggle and final victory.⁽¹⁾ Our life "is an internecine warfare with the Time-spirit."⁽²⁾ Naturally, the quality that appeals, then, to Carlyle, is not that of "the vulgar Do-nothing," or man whose circumstances do not compel him to fight hard against them, but rather of him, although ill-equipped, yet being a "man of uncommon character . . . in whom a germ of irrepressible Force has been implanted, and *will* unfold itself into some sort of freedom."⁽³⁾

Closely related to the view of life as a battle is the famous "Gospel of Work," for it is by labor that man re-acts strongly upon his circumstances. It is not necessary here to expound that cure for despondency which forms the practical issue of the famous chapter upon "The Everlasting Yea," but rather to show that this doctrine of *Sartor* was anticipated in the earlier essays. As it happens, the most striking parallels are in essays that were written between the date of the completion of *Sartor* and the date of its publication.⁽⁴⁾ But as early as the *Life of Schiller* Carlyle said: "Nine-tenths of the miseries and vices of mankind proceed from idleness,"⁽⁵⁾ and predicted his trumpet-call to turn sentiment into action, in these weaker words: "Our feelings are in favor of heroism; we *wish* to be pure and perfect. Happy he whose resolutions are so strong, or whose temptations are so weak, that he can convert these feelings into action!"⁽⁶⁾ There are other parallels which will appear in their proper place.⁽⁷⁾ There is room here for but another small quotation from Richter, speaking of "perennial, fire-proof Joys, namely, Employments,"⁽⁸⁾ which probably performed its share in suggesting or confirming the new gospel.

Turning now from recounting some of the main ideas of *Sartor*, let us next examine the devices of form by which its ideas were brought before the public. Chief among these, of

(1) S R 166, 13-19. (2) S R 176, 32. See also 77, 32; 154, 12; 167, 6 & 20. (3) C R 273. See also C R, 271, 32; 274; B O, 177, 16. (4) B O 143-145; C R 276-277; 302. (5) L S 62. (6) L S 230. (7) See second part of this essay, under S R 143, 16; 149, 27; 177, 31; 179, 5. (8) J A 220.

course, is the conception of the mysterious German professor, whose transcendentalism and uncouthness made him a fitting mouth-piece for Carlyle's most daring thoughts couched in his most rugged words. There was evidently great satisfaction to our author in using a fictitious personage to express his boldest inventions, for, although he does not summon Professor Teufelsdröckh by name in his essay-writing until after the completion of the manuscript of *Sartor*, yet, after he has once discovered the virtues of a spokesman, he calls upon him, under one title or another, to utter whatever too startling declaration he has to make. The earliest case of Carlyle quoting from himself is in the essay on Goethe, 1828, when he introduces five pages of reprinted matter as written "by a professed admirer of Goethe; nay, as might almost seem, by a grateful learner, whom he had taught, whom he had helped to lead out of spiritual obstruction, into peace and light."⁽¹⁾ And this early example of self-quotation is accompanied by the critical discrimination, as from a superior on-looker, with which in *Sartor* we are so familiar: "Making due allowance for all this, there is little in the paper that we object to."⁽¹⁾ There is a similar example of self-quotation in 1830, concerning Richter.⁽¹⁾ It is not until 1832 that the German professor appears, and then under the name "Gottfried Sauer-teig" (Peace-of-God Sour-Dough), evidently constructed with the dualistic intent that prompted that of his successor. Moreover, both "Teufelsdröckh" and "Sauerteig" have remedial intent, the former as "a kind of medicinal *assafoetida*,"⁽²⁾ and the latter as a source of yeasty fermentation, such as is produced by the corresponding Yankee "empt'in's."⁽³⁾ Three pages of Sauerteig's, containing much that is parallel to passages in *Sartor*, are quoted, ostensibly from the "*Ästhetische Springwürzel*:"⁽⁴⁾ a Work, perhaps, as yet new to most English readers."⁽⁵⁾ Herr Sauerteig appears in at least two other essays,⁽⁶⁾ but in the year of his début emerges also, for the first

(1) G 273. See also J A 224-229. (2) Letter to J. Carlyle, July 17, 1831, quoted by M. p. 282. See also German dictionary, under "Teufelsdröckh." (3) See Lowell's "Biglow Papers," Poems, Household Ed. 1885, p. 233 and Glossary. (4) In J R 34, "Springwuerzel" is explained in a note, signed "T": "The 'little blue flame,' the 'Springwuerzel' (start-root), etc., etc., are well-known phenomena in miners' magic." (5) B1 101. (6) B0 132; C C 1-4, 12, 27, 71.

time, "Herr Professor Teufelsdröckh," whose name is still to undergo a slight change of spelling. The professor is characterized as "A continental Humorist, of deep-piercing, resolute, though strangely perverse faculty, whose works are as yet but sparingly if at all cited in English literature;" and, most noteworthy fact, the several pages of quotation are assigned to a work with which all readers of *Sartor* are familiar,—"*Die Kleider: ihr Werden und Wirken*," published at "Weissnichtwo" by the now celebrated institution, called here "Stillschweign'sche Buchhandlung."⁽¹⁾ Again, "our assiduous 'D. T.' " permits to be printed a part of his "Inaugural Discourse . . . at the opening of the *Society for the Diffusion of Common Honesty*."⁽²⁾ But more frequently he masks under some general designation; as, "an observer, not without experience of our time,"⁽³⁾ or "a Scottish Humorist."⁽⁴⁾ Other examples of self-quotation are not wanting,⁽⁵⁾ perhaps the most striking of which is the passage ascribed to "SMELFUNGUS REDIVIVUS,"⁽⁶⁾ whose Latin cognomen may have been suggested by Goethe's compliment to Madam von Wollzogen's *Life of Schiller*.⁽⁷⁾ On one occasion, "Bishop Dogbolt" serves as the type of smooth-tongued preacher, in antithesis to the Apostle Paul.⁽⁸⁾

Professor MacMechan has shown, by abundant quotation, that Carlyle made "canny" use of his unfinished novel, *Wotton Reinfred*, to furnish details of Teufelsdröckh's biography. It is further evident that the German professor is in part autobiographic in origin. His spiritual struggles have their counterpart in the life of Carlyle. More than this, the qualities prominent in the fictitious man are those that Carlyle had been praising for years in the German and other authors his magazine-work called upon him to estimate. These qualities too, it is safe to say, are largely those of Carlyle himself, for he was not Shakespearean but rather Miltonic in temperament.⁽⁹⁾ If one could take a composite photograph of the whole of Carlyle's literary criticism, one would find that the strongest lines of the

(1) G W 209-214. (2) H A 382. (3) C R 274. (4) C C 31. (5) G W 264; D 371, 3.

(6) C R 269. Professor MacMechan suggests that Carlyle got the first part of this name from Sterne, who, in his *Sentimental Journey*, calls Smollett "Smelfungus." (7) L S 6: "Schiller Redivivus." (8) D 357. (9) As example of his inability to write in two styles, see the alleged publisher's note, S R 10.

picture would give an authentic sketch-portrait of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh. Thus there is perhaps no single question more frequently asked by Carlyle concerning the book to be reviewed than, "Has the author humor?" This humor, so assiduously sought, may be cynical, grim, or even coarse, but, if found, it is praised; if absent, its absence is condemned. Humor is "the surest sign (as is often said) of a character naturally great."⁽¹⁾ That Carlyle consciously endowed his Diogenes with this saving quality is shown by the account of the Professor's famous instance of laughter, and, hardly less emphatically, in a passage crediting him, "whether he have humour himself or not," with "a certain feeling of the ludicrous."⁽²⁾ Without these guides, it is difficult to see how one can read the chapter on "Old Clothes," the opening paragraphs of "The Dandiacal Body," the solemn apostrophe to the squatting tailor,⁽³⁾ or the Swiftian Latin epitaph, without recognizing a permeating humor, which may at times be satirical or quite vulgar, but which is always easily to be distinguished from mere wit, a quality which, even in Voltaire, Carlyle despised.⁽⁴⁾ Some of the numerous examples in the essays of the commendation of humor, and the dispraise of its lack, may well be cited.⁽⁵⁾ It will be observed, in these examples, that the kind of humor most frequently praised is, like the Professor's, rude, genuine, and strong, serving, on occasion, as the medium of carriage for some deeper thought or spiritual truth.

Other qualities praised in the earlier essays, are figurativeness, irony, force, downright sincerity,⁽⁶⁾ all of which, together with humor, might be fused into the expression of a single word, if we had it, that could be aptly applied to the utterances of the Professor, as well as to Carlyle himself.

But it is too much to say that the whole of Teufelsdröckh is drawn from Carlyle's inner consciousness. We remember his assertion to the contrary, and grant it a full proportion of truth.⁽⁷⁾ Both Goethe and Schiller had spiritual experiences similar to the Professor's,⁽⁸⁾ though Schiller made no such de-

(1) C C 17. (2) S R 42, 25. (3) S R 263, 34 ff. (4) V 61. (5) L S 157; J 15 & 16; B 311; S 302; E G I, 402, 405, 418, 440; Bo 193; C R 288; C C 67. (6) G W 262; E G I, 440; L S 226, 232; Cf. L S 31, 25 ff. (7) But see M xxiii, III. (8) See *Werther*, *Meister*, L S 67-69.

cisive conquest of doubt. It is easy to push such comparisons too far, and hard to say, concerning details, what was the original suggestion of each. Thus it is probably a mere coincidence that the circumstances of Schiller's parents were like those of young Diogenes.⁽¹⁾ But that single uproarious laugh of Samuel Johnson's⁽²⁾ is likely to have had some relation to the professorial cacchination, though not, according to Carlyle himself, the relation of cause and effect.⁽³⁾ Also it may be said, as of Johnson, so of Teufelsdröckh: "Within that shaggy exterior of his, there beat a heart warm as a mother's, soft as a little child's."⁽⁴⁾ The fact seems to be that the German professor was made by a process of gradual accretion, through years of reading, writing, observation, and inner experience.

Concerning a few smaller devices, a word may be said. The "Green Goose" tavern, a Lokal in Munich,⁽⁵⁾ appears not only in its German guise in *Sartor*, but also elsewhere in plain English.⁽⁶⁾ So with "Things in general."⁽⁷⁾ And there is mention of a typical being, whose satiric name suggests Hofrath Heuschrecke, and whose decorations forecast the ridiculed dandy: "The Count von Bügeleisen, so idolized by our fashionable classes, is not, as the English Swift asserts, created wholly by the tailor; but partially, also, by the supernatural Powers."⁽⁸⁾

That particular device which deserves to rank equal with the Professor himself is the clothes-idea; indeed, in some aspects this idea is the central point from which all the rays of *Sartor* diverge. It is interesting to observe, noting the essays in chronological order, how the clothes-idea gradually takes on a more and more significant phase, until in the later essays, when the completed *Sartor* is awaiting publication, Carlyle does not hesitate to use many of the specific applications of this idea. In 1828, about two years before *Sartor* was begun, the following passage appeared, which, while not distinctly hinting at the deeper aspects of the clothes philosophy, might still be a quotation from the later work: "We could fancy we saw some Bond-street tailor criticising the costume of some ancient Greek;

(1) L S 12. (2) Bo 175. (3) See M's note on S R 28, 32. (4) Bo 185. (5) M's note on S R 12, 7. (6) C C 34, 8. (7) C C 48, 29. (8) G W 213.

censuring the highly improper cut of collar and lappel; lamenting, indeed, that collar and lappel were nowhere to be seen. He pronounces the costume, easily and decisively, to be a barbarous one: to know whether it *is* a barbarous one, and how barbarous, the judgment of a Winkelmann might be required, and he would find it hard to give a judgment. For the questions set before the two were radically different. The Fraction asked himself: 'How will this look in Almack's, and before Lord Mahogany?' The Winkelmann asked himself: 'How will this look in the Universe, and before the Creator of Man?' '(1) This, not of clothing for its own sake, but in urging Englishmen to approach the study of Goethe with a sympathy that should over-ride national prejudice. It is in his translation from Richter that Carlyle is induced to use his favorite word "hull," and in a metaphorical sense, as equivalent to "body:" "Father, take thy son from this bleeding hull, and lift him to thy heart!" '(2) A little later we find the same word uttered more in Sartorian vein: "Of the Ecclesiastical Historian we have to complain . . . that his inquiries turn rather on the outward mechanism, the mere hulls and superficial accidents of the object, than on the object itself." '(3) In 1831, about the time of the completion of the first draft of *Sartor*, its whole philosophy is condensed into a few words of praise for Hugo von Trimberg, (4) who had "light to see beyond the garments and outer hulls of Life into Life itself." '(5) It is hardly worth while to quote several illustrative passages from the later essays, for, although some of them are much more striking than those given, in so far as their resemblance to *Sartor* is concerned, they are always open to the suspicion of having been borrowed from the patient manuscript upon the shelf, and thus being of later origin. (6) Perhaps the most striking passage of this later sort is the page-long paragraph in the essay on *Goethe's Works*, in which, under the clothes-figure, the difference is expounded between the man of fashion or of empty knowledge, and the man of genius, between "God-creation and tailor-creation." '(7)

(1) G 285. cf. J A 243, 3. (2) J A 241. (3) H 254. (4) S R 164, 26. (5) E G L 400. (6) Bo 130, 19; 144, 26; 189, 1-10; G W 258, 12; C C 2, 24; 33, 10; 39, 12 ff. See also B 301, 24; J A 200, 23; N L 350, and note; T S 36, 4. (7) G W 213 and 214.

One more topic of general sort calls for brief treatment, — the style in which *Sartor* is written. It is hardly possible, in this connection, to ignore the question of Carlyle's indebtedness to German literature in general, and to Richter in particular, although no pretence can be made to settle in a few sentences a matter of discussion that has ranged men like Froude and Lowell on opposite sides. At the one extreme stand those who champion Carlyle's originality of manner, and follow, without qualification, the author's own statement, made in conversation, that his style had its origin in his father's house.⁽¹⁾ At the other extreme stand those who believe that Carlyle imitated Richter, and adopted, consciously or unconsciously, certain other Germanisms into his manner.⁽²⁾ Is it not possible that both these opposites, which are yet not contradictories, may be true, and the full statement of fact take account of both? Some qualities in which Carlyle resembles Richter, not mentioned by Professor MacMechan,⁽³⁾ are riotous humor, occasional coarseness,⁽⁴⁾ almost absolute sincerity, and a forbidding grotesqueness,⁽⁵⁾ which at times seems chaotic, but which yields to the attentive reader glimpses of uplifting and unusual thought. A passage describing Richter's style, less often quoted than another,⁽⁶⁾ is not inapplicable to *Sartor*: "Piercing gleams of thought do not escape us; singular truths, conveyed in a form as singular; grotesque, and often truly ludicrous delineations; pathetic, magnificent, far-sounding passages; effusions full of wit, knowledge, and imagination, but difficult to bring under any rubric whatever; all the elements, in short, of a glorious intellect, but dashed together in such wild arrangement, that their order seems the very ideal of confusion. The style and structure of the book appear alike incomprehensible. The narrative is every now and then suspended, to make way for some 'Extra-leaf,' some wild digression upon any subject but the one in hand; the language groans with indescribable metaphors, and allusions to all things human and divine."⁽⁷⁾

(1) M xlvi. So, substantially, J. A. S. Barrett, in his edition of *Sartor*, London, 1897, pp. 15-18. (2) See Lowell, *My Study Windows*, Boston, 1888, pp. 124, 126. (3) M xlvi. (4) For a combination of humor and coarseness, see S R 54 and 120. For similar qualities in Richter, see J A 235. (5) Cf N 82, 20. (6) J 13. (7) J A 224 ff. See also J A 174, 229.

Given a man by temperament predisposed to a style like Richter's, is it too much to say that the careful translation of the utterances of a kindred spirit into language which endeavored "to preserve the quaint grotesque style so characteristic"⁽¹⁾ of the original had its effect of confirmation, and even of addition, upon the manner of the translator? We have already shown several instances in which, to all appearances, Carlyle absorbed ideas from the congenial spirit of his German hero;⁽²⁾ several other such parallels will be found in the second part of this essay.⁽³⁾ And it is difficult to resist the impression that the manifest resemblance in manner between, say, Richter's fine apostrophe to Old Maids,⁽⁴⁾ and many oratorical passages of *Sartor* is due, not merely to two independent and similar endowments of genius, but also to the inevitable influence which one original spirit exercises upon another. In particular Carlyle's characteristic habit of explaining his metaphors⁽⁵⁾ is in line with Richter's corresponding attempt⁽⁶⁾ not to leave the matter-of-fact reader in ignorance of his real meaning.

To Novalis Carlyle was indebted more for specific thoughts than for style.⁽⁷⁾ Such minor matters as the name "Blumine"⁽⁸⁾ and expressions like "cry a more courageous class"⁽⁹⁾ are to be observed.

To Goethe Carlyle's debt is fundamental, is not properly a matter of style at all.

There is room for a persisting difference of opinion as to how far the study of the German language really influenced Carlyle's style, and how far he was, for the special purposes of *Sartor*, "at pains to give a German coloring" to it.⁽¹⁰⁾ Certainly, there was no extraneous inducement to be Germanic in the earlier essays. Perhaps Carlyle's favorite diminutive ending "-kin" was suggested to him by the German "-chen," although his share in the Scotch genius for such endings helps to account for such phrases as "vehement shrew-mouse squeak-lets."⁽¹¹⁾ The absence of a conjunction, too, is sometimes sug-

(1) J R 28. (2) See above pp. 6, 7, 9, 14. (3) See citations on S R I, 19; 47, 3-5; 90, 1; 102, 28; 155, 10; 161, 17, etc. (4) J A 236. (5) As S R 170, 9; 212, 9-16; 244, 31 ff. (6) J A 254, 26, 28. (7) M's notes on S R 138, 3; 177, 14; 200, 3; 207, 15; 217, 15. See also passages below, cited on S R 61, 20; 160, 14; 176, 16 and 17; 177, 14. (8) N 132. Novalis Schriften, Berlin, 1826, vol. I, p. 5: "die blaue Blume." (9) N 118, cf S R 232, 25. Novalis Schriften, vol. II, p. 55: "Wohl, sagen Muthigere." (10) M xliv. (11) Bo 115, 4.

gestive of German influence, as in the following conditional sentence: "Was the old wolf hunted down, the cub had escaped."⁽¹⁾ And the capitalization of nouns is by no means confined to *Sartor*. Cautiously used in the essay on Voltaire, there are eleven cases of capitalized nouns in as many lines near the close of the account of Cagliostro, and thus evidence that Carlyle appreciated the convenience of a foreign method which enabled him to present to the eye the emphasis that he felt.

The matter of Carlyle's growth in freedom and vigor of expression deserves a moment to itself. Perhaps the readiest way to enforce the difference between his earlier and his later manner is to subjoin a short example of each. The articles written for Brewster are striking in their carefully-turned and almost colorless style. But here are a baker's dozen of lines from the *Life of Schiller*, not less vital than the average: "It is a cruel fate for the poet to have the sunny land of his imagination, often the sole territory he is lord of, disfigured and darkened by the shadows of pain; for one whose highest happiness is the exertion of his mental faculties, to have them chained and paralyzed in the imprisonment of a distempered frame. With external activity, with palpable pursuits, above all, with a suitable placidity of nature, much even in certain states of sickness may be performed and enjoyed. But for him, whose heart is already over keen, whose world is of the mind, ideal, eternal; when the mildew of lingering disease has struck his world, and begun to blacken and consume its beauty, nothing seems to remain but despondency and bitterness and desolate sorrow, felt and anticipated, to the end."⁽²⁾

And here is a passage of about the same length, from *Count Cagliostro*, the passage above referred to as an example of later noun-capitalization:

"But the moral lesson? Where is the moral lesson? Foolish reader, in every Reality, nay in every genuine Shadow of a Reality (what we call Poem), there lie a hundred such, or a million such, according as thou hast the eye to read them! Of which hundred or million lying *here* (in the present Reality),

(1) E G L 425. See also M xlv, Note. (2) L S 131 and 132.

couldst not thou, for example, be advised to take this one, to thee worth all the rest: Behold, I too have attained that immeasurable, mysterious glory of being *alive*; to me also a Capability has been entrusted; shall I strive to work it out (manlike) into Faithfulness, and Doing; or (quacklike) into Eatableness, and Similitude of Doing? or why not rather (gigman-like, and following the 'respectable,' countless multitude) —into *both*? The decision is of quite *infinite* moment; seest thou make it aright.' '(1)

It remains, in this rapid treatment of Carlyle's mode of expression, to point out several special characteristics of style that are found in *Sartor*, and that also previously reveal themselves in the earlier essays. The metaphorical tendency of Carlyle as Professor Teufelsdröckh, and of Carlyle as writer to the reviews of his day, is sufficiently obvious, while a collation of all his metaphors, in both capacities, would involve patience of the first magnitude. There are, however, several particular sources of metaphor, of which he is fond, that can be mentioned here. One of these results in what may be called the bridge-figure. The original of this figure is, as Carlyle's language plainly shows, Milton's bridge, built by Sin and Death from hell to earth.(2) But Carlyle delights in transforming the ominous character of the bridge into beneficence, as he has done before in wresting the language of Satan to spiritual use.(3) Carlyle's favorite use of the bridge-figure is in its application to German literature, and the means of conveying it to English readers.(4) Another favorite source of metaphor is the firmament and its phenomena, perhaps the result, in part, of Carlyle's astronomical studies. Not infrequently the more portentous aspects of the sky are indicated; and again, the planet earth will be seen, a ball whirling through space.(5) Sometimes the figure will be consistently extended for eight or ten lines.(6) A third favorite figure may be termed the tree-figure. Sometimes the oak or the banian is used in simile or in metaphor,

(1) C C 77 and 78. (2) S R 185, 26, and M's note. See also S R 244, 1-10. (3) S R 149, 17 and note. (4) S R *passim*; J R 30; S 270. See also L S 69. (5) L S 225, 22; B 293, 2 ff; V 23, 20 ff; N L 339, 12; E G L 448, 13; D G 205, 14. See also V 34, 24, Bi 95, 26. (6) As S R 88, 3-13; 132, 6-14.

sometimes the growth of a tree furnishes the desired symbol, sometimes some part, as roots or branches, bears the emphasis. It is rather surprising, on the whole, how frequently this source of comparison is used.⁽¹⁾

The vigor of Carlyle's expression is as obvious as its figurativeness. All we wish to remark here is that this vigor, in the earlier essays, was accustomed to break through the fetters of a literal translation. Thus, in a translation from the French of Voltaire's biographer Longchamp, we are told that, "He clapt on a large peruke," where the original has merely, "il se mit sur la tête une ample perruque."⁽²⁾ Again we find the active iniquity implied in "rakehell" used to translate, on one occasion, the German article-pronoun,⁽³⁾ and on another, the passive sufferer set forth by the familiar "roué."⁽⁴⁾

Reference has already been made to the dualistic nature of Carlyle's philosophy. It would appear that he made almost no statement without considering and providing for its opposite.⁽⁵⁾ Just as the nature of man is compounded of two warring forces, which yet are in some sense blended in a single being, so an assertion made, a quality ascribed to an object, suggests the counter-assertion that qualifies, the complementary quality without which description is not complete. The Professor proposes a toast to the poor, not only in the name of God, but of his Satanic Majesty.⁽⁶⁾ The praise of Teufelsdröckh's philosophic patience must be accompanied by note of his prolixity and ineptitude.⁽⁷⁾ Indeed, this habit of mind finds reflection even in doublets of phrase, which are in part different, in part identical. A collection of these phrases is of some interest, since, as the writer believes, the making of such "jingling . . pairs"⁽⁸⁾ grows out of a constitutional view of life. Let us first note in *Sartor* a number of these contiguous pairs of words,

(1) G 282, 15 ff; L H 389, 30 ff; N L 323, 21; cf. S R 34, 24; 381, 34; T S 32, 25; Ch 41, 29 ff; 70, 6; Bo 169, 27; D 375, 4; C C 21, 12 ff; 37, 34 ff; 78, 16 ff; S R 156, 29; 225, 32. (2) V 28. cf. S R 41, 26. For the original, see Longchamp's *Memoires*, II, 213. (3) L S 215, 2. See Wilhelm Tell, Act IV, sc. 3 (p. 119, *Werke*, vol. 9, Stuttgart, 1865): "Dem Volk kann weder Wasser bei noch Feuer." Translated by Carlyle: "But, for such rakehells, neither fire nor flood will kill them." (4) V 50, 7. (5) S R 163, 15 ff; 161, 22; 167, 25; 171, 6; 176, 12 & 13; 178 26 ff; 181, 2; 185, 1; 189, 12; 159, 1-3, 6 & 7; 201, 23, 33; 202, 3; 210, 2; 215, 1; 222, 20 ff; 223, 8; 224, 1-3; 226, 27. (6) S R 12, 14. (7) S R 24, 15 ff. See also 62, 6 ff; 92, 8 ff. (8) M lviii.

which show obvious opposition in meaning. Such are extenuate, exaggerate; ethereal, diabolic; staggers, swaggers; stars, street-sweepings; soup, solid; descendentalism, transcendentalism; invisibility, visibility; aproned, disaproned; plenty, parsimony; admitting, emitting; joy-storm, woe-storm; suddenly, slowly; northward, southward; city-builder, city-burner; help, hinder;⁽¹⁾ animalism, spiritualism; shadow-hunter, shadow-hunted; nothing, nobody, something, somebody; vanquished (p. p.), vanquish; successively, simultaneously; worry, be worried; spend, spent; fact, fiction; fresh, faded; extrinsic, intrinsic; needfully, needlessly; inferior, superior; laughable, lamentable; dandiical, drudgical.⁽²⁾ Another sub-class of these "jingling pairs" includes words that express related ideas, yet ideas that are not mutually exclusive, but are the result of looking at an object from two somewhat differing points of view. Such are lucid, lucent; whereon, whereby; invisible, illegible; habitable, habitable; ever-living, ever-working; physical, psychical; light, love; then, thenceforth; duty, destiny; lasted, lasts; discoverable, supposable; omnipotent, omnipatient; strong-headed, wrong-headed; unendeavoring, unattaining; flowerage, foliage; eulogy, elegy; assigned, assignable; diplomatic, biographic; suicidal, homicidal; examples, exemplars; wandering, wayward; vehicle, vesture; world, worldkin; good-breeding, high-breeding; warp, woof.⁽³⁾ Finally, there are pairs of words which are joined together principally by the jingle at the beginning of them, or at the end. These may or may not represent a valuable distinction of ideas, and are to be regarded as illustrating the tendency under consideration pushed to the extreme of a mannerism. Such are mask, muffler; litter, lumber; bestrapped, bebooted; half-cracked, half-congealed; windpipe, weasand; mumbling, maundering; fish, flesh; tureen, trough; malignest, maddest; clothwebs, cobwebs; chink-lighted, oil-lighted;

(1) S R 10, 18; 13, 2; 19, 14; 28, 6; 30, 5; 57, 30; 72, 15; 93, 17; 113, 17; 135, 1; 135, 3 and 4; 139, 6; 139, 33 and 34; 157, 5 and 6; 160, 8. (2) S R 164, 14 and 15; 165, 19; 166, 2 & 3; 167, 3 and 4; 170, 15 & 16; 176, 18; 180, 27; 183, 15; 188, 7; 202, 6; 210, 14; 227, 30; 249, 7; 259, 4 & 5. (3) S R 8, 11; 30, 19; 31, 11 & 12; 32, 30; 34, 22; 54, 15 & 16; 58, 29; 75, 18 & 19; 89, 7; 92, 33; 98, 33; 102, 3; 107, 3; 116, 22; 122, 15; 125, 9; 136, 34; 142, 12; 164, 7; 168, 6; 171, 17; 176, 5; 179, 2; 217, 2; 236, 22.

mystery, mysticism; shreds, snips; bedizened, beribanded; skating-matches, shooting matches; puffery, quackery, breast-beating, brow-beating; perambulation, circumambulation; Truths grown absolute, Trades grown absolute; talismanic, thaumaturgic; treacherous, traitorous; tatters, tag-rags; cut-purse, cut-throat; rag-gathering, rag-burning; wild-flaming, wild-thundering; puddle, muddle; delirium, deliquium; hierophant, hierarch.⁽¹⁾ The same attitude of mind seems to be indicated in Carlyle's habit of denying the opposite of a quality or statement, instead of using the affirmative form. Thus, instead of saying that a "Tree of Knowledge" stands in the midst of the Garden of Eden of "every well-conditioned strippling," he prefers the phrasing "nor" is such a tree "wanting."⁽²⁾ Some of these turns of phrases are apparently without special force, as "not unvisited."⁽³⁾ And "not unintelligible" may prove to mean "all-illuminating."⁽⁴⁾ This denial of the opposite may fairly be called characteristic of Carlyle.⁽⁵⁾ The significant observation to make here is that the mannerism of doublets, always in some greater or less degree opposed in meaning, is by no means confined to *Sartor*, but appears, less frequently it is true, in the earlier essays. Thus we find distinction, disgrace;⁽⁶⁾ possible, probable;⁽⁷⁾ pudding, praise;⁽⁸⁾ theogony, theology⁽⁹⁾; periodical, perennial; hopeless, helpless; vibrations, vibratiuncles; intricately, inseparably;⁽¹⁰⁾ with (or) without (hope);⁽¹¹⁾ clown, craftsman;⁽¹²⁾ (auroral) light, (infernal) lightning; emitted, demitted;⁽¹³⁾ indelicacy, indecency; wayfaring, warfaring.⁽¹⁴⁾ Even in the translations from the German, the same mannerism appears. Thus in *Meister's Travels*, are found, for example, blamably, blamelessly; synchronistic, symphronistic.⁽¹⁵⁾ And in translating from Richter the sceptical age is described as "a criticising and critical time."⁽¹⁶⁾ It is in *Sartor*, however, that Carlyle, indulges in

(1) S R 10, note; 13, 6; 17, 14; 22 3; 25, 27; 26, 11; 30, 5; 30, 7; 55, 22 and 23; 59, 21; 60, 13; 61, 18; 69, 8; 87, 1 & 2; 87, 22 & 23; 100, 26; 135, 12; 135, 17; 144, 21 & 22; 157, 142; 162, 2; 191, 5 & 6; 210, 26; 230, 12; 242, 11; 246, 28 & 29; 251, 34 & 252, 1; 264, 13 & 14. (2) S R 122, 14 ff. (3) S R 123, 11. (4) S R 231, 24 ff. (5) S R 125, 21; 157, 19 & 20; 162, 26; 170, 18; 194, 1; 198, 2; 221, 6. (6) L S 136, 12. (7) L S 201, 23. (8) B 331, 8. (9) V 45, 30. (10) S T 145, 28; 149, 1; 152, 33, 161, 27. (11) Ch 67, 8. (12) Bo 170, note. (13) G W 238, 33; 251, 27. (14) D 369, 7; 378, 19. (15) Book I, chapters X and XI: Boston, 1851, vol. II, pp. 307, 26; 312, 29. (16) N 142, 20.

his whim without stint, giving full rein to his fondness for pairs of words that sometimes suggest a prose-writer struggling for forbidden rhyme.⁽¹⁾ Occasionally, alliteration extends to three words; as, bewitched, befooled, bedeviled;⁽²⁾ and this extreme also is paralleled in the earlier essays, as in the case of "poor, moaning, monotonous, Macpherson."⁽³⁾

Finally, the style of *Sartor* is marked by the use of certain words, peculiar either in themselves or in the frequency with which they appear. To the former class belong "palingenesis," "whinstone," "vocables" as equivalent to "words," and "gone" prefixed to an adjective, as "gone silent," "gone dead."⁽⁴⁾ To the latter class belong "infinite," "stormful," "inane," and "perennial."⁽⁵⁾ A characteristic use of "infinite" is in its translation, or rather emphasis, of the German "sehr viel."⁽⁶⁾ "Inane" is generally used as a noun. "Perennial" is a persistent favorite. To these much-employed words the Biblical "Holy of Holies" may be added.⁽⁷⁾

But it is high time to turn from topical treatment of the relation between the earlier essays and *Sartor*, to do what is perhaps more mechanical, but certainly no less abundant in result. An examination of the clothes-philosophy, chapter by chapter, will prove, although no pretence is made to quite exhaustive tracing of parallels, that Carlye had grown into many habitual thoughts, and turns of phrase, which he made little or no attempt to disguise in form when he posed as the now celebrated Professor of Things-in-General. He relied securely upon his comparative obscurity as a man of letters; yet it is

(1) Other examples of this pairing of words in *S R* are *S R* 1, 21; 6, 11; 14, 4; 15, 14; 17, 2 & 3; 20, 12; 21, 5; 21, 33; 23, 9; 20, 21 & 22; 68, 3; 68, 30; 70, 24; 77, 33; 79, 9 & 10; 84, 2; 89, 34; 87, 5; 92, 31; 97, 21 ff.; 34; 106, 15; 100, 26; 101, 4 & 5; 102, 29; 108, 4, 34; 111, 12, 14 & 15; 113, 32 & 33; 114, 24 & 25; 121, 2; 122, 32; 123, 17; 127, 4 & 5; 130, 15; 137, 17; 139, 27; 141, 32; 144, 11; 144, 34; 149, 7, 20; 148, 24; 150, 34; 151, 7; 155, 14 & 15; 156, 14 & 15; 157, 8 & 9; 157, 15; 157, 34; 158, 3, 12, 13; 160, 19; 171, 8, 19 & 20; 1, 2, 14; 162, 31; 163, 20 & 21; 163, 33 & 34; 169, 27; 168, 4; 168, 26; 168, 27; 169, 7, 16, 22, 29; 170, 1 & 2, 20; 171, 13; 172, 12 & 13, 30 & 31; 174, 4 & 5; 174, 21 & 22; 175, 3; 176, 12 & 13; 177, 19 & 20; 177, 14; 180, 212; 81, 22; 182, 7, 9; 193, 181; 184, 26 & 28; 184, 4, 19 & 20, 26 & 27; 185, 33; 186, 8, 17; 188, 1, 11; 189, 2, 22, 33; 191, 4, 22; 192, 18; 194, 22 & 23; 195, 19; 196, 2, 16; 198, 4 & 5, 12, 23; 199, 8; 200, 17, 22 & 23; 201, 2 & 3; 202, 23, 24 & 25; 203, 30; 224, 2; 225, 9; 226, 21; 228, 7; 211, 2; 212, 4 & 6, 14; 213, 1 & 2, 17, 30; 215, 29 & 30; 217, 14; 218, 2, 26; 220, 6; 224, 25; 226, 32; 227, 3; 228, 7; 229, 23 & 24; 230, 9; 231, 24; 232, 15 & 23, 31; 238, 6, 15, 31 & 34; 241, 2 & 3; 244, 20 & 21; 245, 23, 28, 17; 246, 247, 10; 248, 19; 34; 249, 17, 39, 32; 251, 31; 252, 6, 32; 253, 1; 254, 32; 256, 5 & 6; 260, 3, 19; 243, 23; 261, 265, 8; 266, 20 & 21; 269, 23; 270, 6 & 7; 271, 6. (2) *S R* 200, 23 ff. Also 20, 33; 130, 14 & 15. (3) *T S* 32, 17. (4) *S R* 231, 20; 244, 17; *Bo* 177, 28; *S R* 264, 20; *T S* 18, 11. *S R* 95, 15; *C R* 270, 14. *S R* 229, 16; 227, 33; *Ch* 81, 13; *D G* 195, 23. (5) *S R* 194, 29; 233, 30; 267, 27; *S T* 156, 34; *Bo* 166, 32; 167, 3; *D* 375, 7 (infinite). See *S R* 222, 16 & note; *C R* 284, 30; *D G* 203, 26; *C C* 29, 20. *S R* 200, 10; 242, 16; *E G L* 386, 1; *T S* 3, 8. *S R* 175, 15; 191, 15. *Ch* 75, 27; *G W* 267, 33; *Bi* 99, 21; 124, 20; 127, 13; 129, 6; 243, 34; 144, 2; 182, 26. 184, 5; *C R* 269, 19; *D* 360, 23; 374, 23; *L S* 58, 16; 120, 13. (6) See *M*'s note to *S R* 194, 28; 7; *S R*, 90, 1; 168, 22; 231, 1. *M*'s note to 149, 22; *E G L*, 389, 19; *Ch*, 53, 29; 83, 17.

difficult to understand how, even at that early period of his career, some of his previous writing had not exposed him at once, on the appearance of *Sartor*, as himself the veritable Teufelsdröckh, instead of leaving the secret of his mystification only gradually to struggle into light.

The obvious method of procedure is to take the chapters, even the lines, of *Sartor*, in order, and to cite parallels in the earlier essays. In the following arrangement, to save space, comment is omitted. A separate paragraph is devoted to each chapter, and the lines of each chapter are taken in order. Some of the more important parallels are quoted, the reference to each being given immediately after it. Other similar passages in the earlier essays are indicated by citation merely, after the reference belonging to the quotation. Occasionally passages have been cited which resemble the later work in spirit rather than in verbal expression. Quotation marks have been omitted, except when Carlyle himself used them.

BOOK I.

Chapter I, p. 1, ll. 5-8.—He who, in some singular time of the World's History, were reduced to wander about, in stooping posture, with painfully constructed sulphur-match and farthing rushlight . . . or smoky tarlink . . . searching for the Sun. . . (D 366, 11 ff. See also D 320, 16; V 2, 3; S T 163, 25; D 366, 2.) 1, 19, and notes.—“A lively people, for whom pleasure or pain, as daylight or cloudy weather, often hide the upper starry heaven, can at least use star-catalogues, and some planisphere thereof.” (Quoted from Richter, J R 29.) 2, 7.—The Social Contract. (L S 206, 31.) 2, 8.—As men cannot do without a divinity, a sort of terrestrial upholstery one had been got together, and named TASTE, with medallic virtuosi and picture cognoscenti, and enlightened letter and belles-letters men enough for priests. (G W, 248, 14. V 72, 16.) 2, 9.—‘Doctrine of Rent.’ (B 318, 14.) 2, 14 and note.—Dr.

Cabanis. (E G L 389, 10. L S 35 N.) 2, 24.—Wrappage. (J 13, 21. J A 200, 23.) 3, 3-4, and note.—It [History] is a looking both before and after. (H 244, 8. S 300, 15; 301, 25.) 3, 11.—'Catholic Disabilities.' (V 30, 3. S T, 145, 7.) 3, 14, see 16, 33; 268, 7.—Watch-tower (C C 15, 2; 28, 4; cf. on 16, 33, below.) 5, 20-22.—*Die Kleider: ihr Werden und Wirken*. VON D. TEUFELSDRECK. Weissnichtwo. Still-schweign'sche Buchhandlung, 1830 (G W 212 N.)

Chapter II. 7, 4, cf. 267, 17.—A great love of making Proselytes (V 71, 26.) 7, 9.—Business and bosoms. (N L 357, 7.) 8, 29.—Like mere Minerva novels, and songs by a Person of Quality! (S 263, 20. J 10, 15. B 302, 30. E G L 414, 30. G W 243, 19. Bo 172, 1. C R 287, 31; 289, 18, Bi 100, 17.) 9, 32, and note.—Quite spotless, on the other hand, is Johnson's love of Truth. . . 'Clear your mind of Cant;' *clear* it, throw Cant utterly away: such was his emphatic precept. (Bo 183, 26. G 238, 12. L S 233, 1. B 298, 19. Bo 127, 21; 160, 22; 178, 28; 184, 8. C R 280, 11; 300, 28.) 11, 1. cf. 100, 26. PUFFERY. (Bo 156, 33; 184, 28. C R 296, 13. D 332, 5.)

Chapter III. 13, 13.—Sansculottes. (G W 211, 9.) 14, 7. The "Wandering," or as Schubart's countrymen denominate him, the "Eternal Jew." (L S 254, 3. H A 383, 14. C C 61, 11.) 14, 33 and note.—There is a series of Selections, Editions, Translations, Critical Disquisitions, some of them in the shape of Academic Program. (E G L 407, 3.) 15, 14.—It is not by Derision and Denial, but far deeper, more earnest, diviner means that aught truly has been effected for mankind. (V 44, 20; 19, 7. G H 174, 20. G 239, 33.) 15, 20.—The following singular Fragment on *History* forms part, as may be recognized, of the Inaugural Discourse delivered by our assiduous 'D. T.' at the opening of the *Society for the Diffusion of Common Honesty*. The discourse, if one may credit the Morning Papers, 'touched in the most wonderful manner, didactically, poetically, almost prophetically, on all things in this world and the next, in a strain of sustained or rather of suppressed passionate eloquence rarely witnessed in Parliament or out of it: the chief bursts were received with profound silence,'

—interrupted, we fear, by snuff-taking. (H A 382, 1, ff.) 16, 33. — See 3, 14; 268, 7. — Watch-towers (Bi 112, 16.) 17, 28. See 242. — Rough Samuel and sleek wheedling James *were*, and *are not*. Their life and whole personal Environment has melted into air. (Bo 132, 34 ff. D 357, 29.) 18, 3. — History . . . is the only *articulate* communication (when the inarticulate and mute, intelligible or not, lie round us and in us, so strangely through every fibre of our being, every step of our activity) which the Past can have with the Present. (H A 382, 19.) 20, 16. — Perhaps scarcely the besom of a maid had got admittance. (G W 235, 18.) 21, 31. — The burin of Retzsch is not more expressive or exact. (B 305, 18.) 22, 32. Talapoin. (D 367, 13.)

Chapter IV. 24, 31. — Coronation Pontiff. (Bo 153, 31.) 29, 17. — Wit of this sort . . . has not even the force to laugh outright, but can only sniff and titter. (V 61, 14. B 314, 19. D 347, 20; 354, 23.)

Chapter V. 32, 22 and note. — Vain were it to inquire where Nibelungen-land specially is: its very name is *Nebel-land*, or *Niff-land*, the land of Darkness, of Invisibility. (N L 342, 13.) 34, 18 — 21, cf 236, 17 ff — If all things, to speak in the German dialect, are discussed by us, and exist for us, in an element of Time, and therefore of Mortality and Mutability; yet Time itself reposes on Eternity . . . Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost. (Ch 87, 1. Bo 132, 19. D 334, 8.) 34, 21-25. — Thus though Tradition may have but one root, it grows like a Banian, into a whole over-arching labyrinth of trees. (N L 323, 20.) 34, 30-34, see 164, 10. — Gunpowder (of the thirteenth century), though Milton gives the credit of it to Satan, has helped mightily to lessen the horrors of war: thus much at least must be admitted in its favor, that it secures the dominion of civilized over savage man: nay, hereby, in personal contests, not brute Strength, but Courage and ingenuity, can avail . . . If the story of Brother Schwartz's mortar giving fire and driving his pestle through the ceiling . . . is but a fable,—that of our first Book being printed there is much better ascertained. (E G L 430, 22-28; 431, 11.) 35, 21. — Such is the difference

between God-creation and Tailor-creation. Great is the Tailor, but not the greatest. (G W 213, 35. Bo 144, 26.) 35, 22 ff. cf 180, 5. — Those Universities, and other Establishments and Improvements, were so many tools which the Spirit of the time had devised. (E G L 432, 11.) *Ibid.* — Rudiments of an Epic, we say; and of the true Epic of our 'Time, — were the genius but arrived that could sing it! Not 'Arms and the Man;' 'Tools and the Man,' that were now our Epic. What indeed are 'Tools, from the hammer and plummet of Enoch Ray to this Pen we now write with, but Arms, wherewith to do battle against UNREASON. (C R 297, 13.)

Chapter VI. 37, 13. — Wiredrawn. (B, 297 15.) 38, 27-39, 3. — . . . The *Minerva Presses* of all nations, and this their huge transit-trade in rags, all lifted from the dunghill, printed on and returned thither, to the comfort of parties interested . . . (E G L 414, 30; 431, 28. H A 387, 6.) 39, 21. — 'Satan's Invisible World displayed.' (G H 173, 15.)

Chapter VII. 43, 20-29. — What good is it to me though innumerable Smolletts and Belshams keep dinning in my ears . . . That he who sat in chancery, and rayed out speculation from the Woolsack, was now a man that squinted, now a man that did not squint? To the hungry and thirsty mind all this avails next to nothing. (Bo 134, 7.)

Chapter VIII. 45, 16. — No organ of truth but logic. (D 365, 19; 366, 3. Bo 128, 32.) 46, 21 ff. — The Universe, of Man and Nature, is still quite shut up from them; the 'open secret' is still utterly a secret. . . Nothing but a pitiful Image of their own pitiful Self. . . so that the starry ALL, with whatsoever it embraces, does but appear as some expanded magic-lantern show of that same Image, — and naturally looks pitiful enough. (Bi 111, 7. D 366, 8-19.) 46, 29. — Inspired Volume of Nature. (Bi 112, 4.) 46, 31. — Dream-grotto. (E G L 440, 33.) 47, 3-5. — "I travelled through the worlds, I mounted into the suns, and flew with the galaxies through the wastes of heaven; but there is no God. I descended as far as being casts its shadow, and looked into the abyss, and cried: Father, where art thou? but I heard only the eternal storm, which no one guides; and the gleaming rainbow from the west, without a

Sun that made it, stood over the abyss, and trickled down." (J R 33. Quoted also J A 240, with "went" substituted for "travelled," "down" added after "looked," "everlasting" substituted for "eternal," and the last sentence rendered, "the gleaming Rainbow of Creation hung without a Sun that made it, over the Abyss, and trickled down." From the first chapter of Richter's *Siebenkäs*. Quoted substantially again, D 361, 28 ff. cf. also from Carlyle's translation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Act III, Scene x: "Him, the maker we behold not; calm He veils himself in everlasting laws." L S 94, 26.) 47, 5-13.—In that stertorous last fever-sleep of our European world, must not Phantasms enough (born of the Pit, as all such *are*) flit past, in ghastly masquerading and chattering? A low, scarce-audible moan (in Parliamentary Petitions, Meal-mobs, Popish Riots, Treatises on Atheism) struggles from the moribund sleeper; frees him not from his hellish guests and saturnalia: Phantasms these 'of a dying brain.' (C C 25, 29 ff.) 47, 18-26.—Nature, like the sphinx, her emblem. . . Now too her riddle had been propounded; and thousands of subtle, disputatious school-men were striving earnestly to read it, that they might live, morally live, that the monster might not devour them. These, like strong swimmers, in boundless, bottomless vortices of logic, swam manfully, but could not get to land. (E G L 390, 13. D 362, 16 ff.) 48, 22.—Nature is no longer dead, hostile Matter but the veil and mysterious Garment of the Unseen. (N 112, 21.) 48, 23 ff.—"Thus at the roaring Loom of Time I ply, And weave for God the Garment thou seest him by." (J R 33 N, C's translation of Richter's quotation for Faust. D 307, 29.) 50, 26.—"Straddling biped that wears breeches." (C C 3, 14.)

Chapter IX. 54, 3.—Levees, and couchees. (V 48, 20.) 54, 33.—Pickle-herring farce. (G W 208, 10. C C 67, 7.) 55, 4.—"An honest man you may form of windle-straws; but to make a rascal you must have grist." (S 281 N, quoted from Schiller's *Robbers*, a passage offensive to the grand Duke of Wurtemberg. Re-quoted, L S 36 N. See also L S 250, 35; E G L 434, 30.)

Chapter X. 57, 9.—Serbonian bog. (L S 69, 23.) 58, 1-10. cf. 217, 17. Every man, within that inconsiderable figure of his,

contains a whole Spirit-kingdom and Reflex of the ALL; and, though to the eye but some six standard feet in size, reaches downwards and upwards, unsurveyable, fading into the regions of Immensity and of Eternity. (D 307, 24 ff.) *Ibid.*—"Nay, is not Man's Spirit (with all its infinite celestial-spaces) walled in within a six-feet Body, with integuments, and Malpighian mucuses, and capillary tubes; and has only five straight world-windows, of Senses, to open for the boundless, round-eyed, round-sunned All;—and yet it discerns and reproduces an All!" (J A 185, 12 ff.) 58, 18-19.—Chrysostom, or Mouth-of-Gold. (C C 53, 13. D 372, 18.) 58, 20.—Man is ever . . . a Revelation of God to man. (Bo 183, 23. C C 1, 14.) 59, 10.—'Dark with excess of light' (*sic*). (V 21, 9.) 59, 16.—An eye for what is above him, not for what is about him or below him. (S 302, 20.) 59, 30.—Alas, what is the loftiest flight of genius, the finest frenzy that ever for moments united Heaven with Earth, to the perennial, never-failing joys of a digestive-apparatus thoroughly eupeptic? (S 289, 28 ff. D 311, 32.) 60, 1 ff. cf. 245, 16.—For Goethe, as for Shakespeare, the world lies . . . encircled with WONDER. (G W 262, 11.) 61, 2.—Rome was once saved by geese (D 340, 11.) 61, 18. He walks through the land of wonders, unwondering. (S T 153, 15. H 252, 18.) 61, 20.—'That closet-logic.' (Quoted from Novalis, V 79, 11. B 305, 8; 307, 17; 318, 13. V 23, 4; 30, 26. E G L 390, 19. Ch 51, 10. Bo 128, 32.) 61, 26.—This world of ours . . . is also a 'Mystic Temple and Hall of Doom.' (C C 27, 24. L S 67, 13.) 62, 2.—Dilettante. (T S 8, 19; 40, 8. S T 170, 16. G W 248, 10.)

Chapter XI. 63, 6.—It is a rustic, rude existence; barren moors, with the smoke of Forges rising over the waste expanse. (C R 291, 6.) 63, 20, 21.—The ALL (D 307, 25.) 63, 25.—The living Force of a new man. (C R 275, 31.) 67, 14.—But we may excite a very different sort of interest if we represent each remarkable occurrence that happened to *men* as of importance to *man*. (L S 126, 22, Bi 96, 7. G W 209, 29.) 67, 16.—Define to thyself judicious reader, the real significance of these phenomena. . . the sum total of which . . . constitutes that other grand phenomenon still called 'Conversation.'

Do they not mean wholly: *Biography* and *Autobiography*? (Bi 97, 24.) 67, 21 and 68, 25.—“Empire-free, Highly-well-born, Particularly-much-to-be-venerated, Lord Privy Counsellor!” (L S 257, 17.)

BOOK II.

Chapter I. 73, 7.—Rosbach. (V 36, 11.) 73, 22.—The Spanish *Cid*. (N L 379, 34.) 73, 27.—Camisado. (L S 128, 9). 76, 32-77, 7.—Know, then, that in the year 1743, in the city of Palermo, in Sicily, the family of Signor Pietro Balsamo, a shop-keeper, were exhilarated by the birth of a Boy. Such occurrences have now become so frequent that miraculous as they are, they occasion little astonishment. (C C 12, 15 ff.) 78, 9.—Walter Shandy. (Ch 51, 2.) 79, 3, and note.—Outwardly in his five senses, inwardly in his ‘sixth sense, that of vanity,’ nothing straitened. (C C 7, 31.) *Ibid.*—If we consider Beppo’s great Hunger, now that new senses were unfolding in him . . . (C C 18, 11.) 79, 27. cf. 90, 16.—A modest, still nature. (S 275, 9.)

Chapter II. For the spirit of the opening paragraph compare Ch 47, 16 ff: Most of us, looking back on young years, may remember seasons of a light, ærial translucency and elasticity, and perfect freedom; the body had not yet become the prison-house of the soul, but was its vehicle and implement, like a creature of the thought, and altogether pliant to its bidding. We knew not that we had limbs, we only lifted, hurled, and leapt; through eye and ear, and all avenues of sense, came clear unimpeded tidings from without, and from within issued clear, victorious force; we stood as in the centre of Nature, giving and receiving, in harmony with it all; unlike Virgil’s Husbandman, ‘too happy *because* we did not know our blessedness.’ In those days, health and sickness were foreign traditions that did not concern us; our whole being was as yet One, the whole man like an incorporated Will. 83, 2.—The epoch when he passed out of long-clothes. (C C 13, 2.) 83, 14.—The picture of the boy Schiller contemplating the thunder. (L S 14, 2

83, 16 ff.—That foolish piece of gilt wood, there glittering sun-lit, with its reflex wavering in the Mayn waters, is awakening quite another glitter in the young gifted soul: is not this foolish sun-lit splendor also, now when there is an *eye* to behold it, one of Nature's doings? The eye of the young seer is here, through the paltriest chink, looking into the infinite Splendors of Nature, —where, one day, himself is to enter and dwell. (G W 229, 20 ff.) 83, 19.—The Alphabet, and that in gilt letters. (N 84, 10.) 84, 9-30.—It is a great truth, one side of a great truth, that the Man makes the Circumstances, and spiritually as well as economically, is the artificer of his own fortune. But there is another side of the same truth, that the man's circumstances are the element he is appointed to live and work in . . . so that in another no less genuine sense, it can be said that the Circumstances make the Man. (D 360, 1 ff. L H 389, 18. S T 157, 23 ff. G W 225, 21.) 84, 15, and note.—The preservation of his game. (B 288, 14; 340, 14. V 9, 8. D 339, 13 ff; 345, 22. C C 2, 14; 60, 27.) 86, 11.—For every road Will lead one to the end o' th' World. C.'s translation of *Wilhelm Tell*, in L S 211, 37.) 87, 24 ff.—In childhood, the most unheeded, but by far the most important era of existence,—as it were, the still creation-days of the whole future man,—he had breathed the only wholesome atmosphere of affection and joy. (S 283, 24 ff. For the figure, see C R 289, 33.) 87, 31.—Our first self-consciousness is the first revelation to us of a whole universe, wondrous and altogether good: it is a feeling of joy and new-found strength, of mysterious infinite hope and capability. (E G L 391, 32 ff.) 88, 10-14 (cf 166, 16).—An iron, ignoble circle of necessity embraces all things. (Ch 77, 29. G H 171, 31. Ch 54, 33. G W 228, 10.) 88, 34 (cf 166, 16).—Necessity and Free-will. (C C 31, 16.) 90, 1.—'The veiled Holy-of-Holies of man.' (Quoted from Richter, J A 189, 13. J 24, 14. G L 46, 25.)

Chapter III. (For examples of mis-education, see L S 18, 5 ff; 28, 3. G W 233, 27. S T 148, 15 ff. C R 275, 27.) 94, 24.—Rights of Man. (L S 206, 31.) 94, 30—95, 5.—'The process of teaching and living was conducted with the stiff formality of military drilling; everything went on by statute and

ordinance; there was no scope for the exercise of free-will, no allowance for the varieties of original structure. . . The same strict and narrow course of reading and composition was marked out for each beforehand, and it was by stealth if he read or wrote anything beside. (S 276, 36 ff.) 95, 15.—Mere vocables. (S 270, 6.) 95, 18.—Gerund-grinder. (L H 358, 18, cf G 237, 32.) 95, 20.—Mere Nürnberg wax-work. (T S 37, 16.) 95, 33, and *Note*.—The fit use of such a man is as hodman; not feeling the plan of the edifice, let him carry stones to it. (D 359, 2 ff.) 96, 18–22. How much more when our sunset was of a living sun; and *its* bright countenance and shining return to us, not on the morrow, but ‘no more again, at all, forever!’ (D G 197, 12 ff.) 99, 21–27.—Leipsic University has the honor of matriculating him. The name of his ‘propitious mother’ she may boast of, but not of the reality: alas, in these days, the University of the Universe is the only propitious mother of such; all other propitious mothers are but unpropitious superannuated dry-nurses fallen bedrid, from whom the famished nursling has to *steal* even bread and water, if he will not die. (G W 239, 14 ff.) 99, 33.—The blind leading the blind, both fall into the ditch. (G W 216, 31.) 100, 26.—PUFFERY. (See 11, 1.) 102, 21.—“Progress of the species.” (L S 127, 9; G W 265, 33; 267, 30. cf V 41, 16.) 102, 28. cf 148, 17,—‘The soul, which by nature looks Heavenward, is without a temple, in this age.’ (Quoted from Richter, J A 236, 32. S T 165, 12. D G 201, 11.) 102, 29.—Here and there some traces of new foundation, of new building up, may now also, to the eye of Hope, disclose themselves. (D 307, 10. C C 29, 22–30.) 102, 31.—Thought must needs be Doubt and Inquiry, before it can again be Affirmation and Sacred Precept. (Ch 80, 17.) 104, 5.—Men are grown mechanical in head and heart. [S T 150, 19.] 104, 24.—Like a frightful dream. (S T 144, 18.) 107, 5. cf 150, 20; 210, 29.—Friendship, in the old heroic sense of that term, no longer exists; except in the cases of kindred or other legal affinity; it is in reality no longer expected, or recognized as a virtue among men. (B 338, 28 ff. cf Ch 61, 23–27.) 107, 11. cf 146, 28.—‘What good is it,’ will such cry, ‘when we had still some faint shadow of belief that

man was better than a selfish Digesting-machine, what good is it to poke in, at every turn, and explain how this and that which we thought noble in old Samuel, was vulgar, base; that for him too that was no reality but in the stomach. . . ?' (Bo 118, 25.)

Chapter IV. — 108, 2-6, and note. — If that man is a benefactor to the world who causes two ears of corn to grow where only one grew before, much more is he a benefactor who causes two truths to grow up together in harmony and mutual confirmation, where before only one stood solitary, and, on that side at least, intolerant and hostile. (G L 39, 27 ff.) 113, 12. — Skyey messengers. (N L 342, 24.) 115, 30. — Sphinx question. (G W 259, 16.) 117, 9. — Holy Alliance. (G W 213, 30. D 343, 24.) 120, 1-20. — One Life is too servilely the copy of another . . . nothing but the old song sung by a new voice . . . and for the *words*, these, all that they meant stands written generally as the churchyard-stone: *Natus sum : esuriebam, quærebam ; nunc repletus requiesco.* (Bo 140, 14. cf B 340, 14 and 15. Bo 176, 13. D 340, 28 ff.)

Chapter V. 121, 24-28. — The world without us and within us beshone by the young light of Love, and all instinct with a divinity, is beautiful and great. (E G L 392,) 2. 123, 11. Not unvisited of skyey messengers. (N L 342, 24.) 125, 9. — *Wegterism*. (V 34, 34. G W 251, 7.) 129, 15-17. — This period also passed away, with its good and its evil; of which chiefly the latter seems to be remembered; for we scarcely ever find the affair alluded to, except in terms of contempt, by the title *Aufklärerey* (Illuminationism); and its partisans, in subsequent satirical controversies, received the nickname of *Philistern* (Philistines). (G L 74, 17 ff. T S 30, 30.) 130, 25-27. — Whether in that ceremonial joining of hands there might not be some soft, slight pressure, of far deeper import, is what our Singer will not take upon him to say; however, he thinks the affirmative more probable. (N L 348, 32 ff.) 133, 7. — In Thurtell's trial (says the *Quarterly Review*) occurred the following colloquy: '*Q.* What sort of person was Mr. Weare? *A.* He was always a respectable person. *Q.* What do you mean by respectable person? *A.* He kept a gig.' — Since

then we have seen a '*Defensio Gigmanica*, Apology for the Gigmens of Great Britian,' composed not without eloquence, and which we hope one day to prevail on our friend, a man of some whims, to give to the public. (J A 210, 3 and *Note*. cf. Bo 124, 15, and *Note*. Also see B 346, 28. G W 227, 23. Bo 164, 30. C C 6, 5; 34, 5.)

Chapter VI. 135, 9.—Satanic Schools. (G W 251, 15. C R 269, 7.) 138, 30.—The sternest sum-total of all worldly misfortunes is Death; nothing more *can* lie in the cup of human woe: yet many men, in all ages, have triumphed over Death, and led it captive. (B 342, 8. N L 361, 22. C R 278, 28.) 139, 16–31.—Accordingly, he sees but a little way into Nature: the mighty All, in its beauty, and infinite mysterious grandeur, humbling the small *Me* into nothingness, has never even for moments been revealed to him. (V 20, 25.) 140, 16.—Picturesque tourists. (B 333, 8.) 143, 16, and *Note*.—'The end of man,' it was long ago written, 'is an Action, not a Thought.' (Ch 72, 11; 74, 31; E G L 392, 18. D 313, 2.) 144, 29.—Behold a Byron, in melodious tones, 'cursing his day.' (Ch 79, 8; 77, 8. C R 293, 22. T S 16, 6.) 144, 31. See 162, 13.—Every great man, Napoleon himself, is intrinsically a poet, an idealist, with more or less completeness of utterance. (L P 258, 18.)

Chapter VII. (For the title, see D 362, 34: The ETERNAL No. See also similar experiences of Goethe, G W 255, and Schiller, L S 152. Also see Moor's soliloquy on suicide in *The Robbers*, S 308, 309. For reference to such experience, see B 324, 25; Ch 78, 29.) 145, 26. cf 149, 27.—He . . . cannot reach the only true happiness of a man, that of clear, decided Activity in the sphere for which, by a nature and circumstances, he has been fitted and appointed. (B 321, 16. Ch 61, 29. G W 243, 17.) 146, 25–147, 22.—Religion in most countries, more or less in every country, is no longer what it was, and should be,—a thousand-voiced psalm from the heart of Man to his invisible Father, the fountain of all Goodness, Beauty, Truth, and revealed in every revelation of these; but for the most part, a wise, prudential feeling grounded on mere calculation; a matter, as all others now are, of Expediency and Utility; where-

by some smaller quantum of earthly enjoyment may be exchanged for a far larger quantum of celestial enjoyment. Thus Religion, too, is Profit; a working for wages; not Reverence, but vulgar Hope or Fear. (S T 165, 15 ff. T S 30, 1 ff. Ch. 76, 24 ff.) 146, 28. cf. 107, 11.—So far as men are not mere digesting-machines. (H 147, 23.) 147, 29. cf. 174, 20. 147, 10-21.—There is no resource for it, but to get into that interminable ravelment of Reward and Approval, virtue being its own reward; and assert louder and louder,—contrary to the stern experience of all men, from the Divine Man, expiring with agony of blood sweat on the accursed tree, down to us two, O reader (if we have ever done one Duty)—that Virtue is synonymous with Pleasure. Alas! was Paul, an apostle of the Gentiles, virtuous; and was virtue its own reward, when *his* approving conscience told him that he was ‘the chief of sinners,’ and (bounded to this life alone) ‘of all men the most miserable?’ (D 370, 7 ff. C C 27, 10. H 254, 12.) 147, 13.—Dr. Grahams. (C C 25, 21.) 147, 17.—Nero [with quotation from Tacitus concerning Nero’s punishment of the Christians.] (V 3, 23 ff. C C 27, 11.) 147, 19. cf. 149, 5; 151, 4.—‘Nay, more, this hatred of Religion . . . changed the infinite, creative music of the Universe into the monotonous clatter of a boundless Mill, which, turned by the stream of Chance, and swimming thereon, was a Mill of itself, without Architect and Miller, properly, a genuine *perpetuum mobile*, a real, self-grinding Mill.’ (Quoted from Novalis, V 77, 35 ff. S T 150, 12.) 148, 7-20.—cf. Bo 160, 34 ff.: If, as for a devout nature was inevitable and indispensable, he looked up to Religion, as to the pole-star of his voyage, already there was no *fixed* pole-star any longer visible; but two stars, a whole constellation of stars, each proclaiming itself as the true. There was the red portentous comet-star of Infidelity; the dimmer and dimmer-burning fixed star . . . of Orthodoxy . . . 148, 17.—cf. 102, 28. 148, 30.—No one that sees into the significance of Johnson, will say that his prime object was not Truth. (Bo 183, 1; 155, 1.) 149, 16.—The true wretchedness lies here: that the difficulty remain and the strength be lost. (Ch 76, 19. G W 261, 9.) 149, 27.—‘*Know thyself*, value thyself, is a moralist’s commandment (which I

only half approve of) ; but *Know others*, value others, is the best of Nature herself. Or again, *Work while it is called To-day*: is not that also the irreversible law of being for mortal man? (Quoted from Herr Sauerteig, C C 3, 5 ff.) 151, 26.—He . . . does not hang or drown himself, clearly understanding that death of itself will soon save him that trouble. (V 35, 11.) 152, 7. A beautiful death ; like that of a soldier found faithful at his post, and in the cold hand his arms still grasped ! (D G 195, 10.) 152, 33. See 138, 30. 153, 21.—For a decrepit, death-sick Era, when CANT had first decisively opened her poison-breathing lips to proclaim . . . that Life was a *Lie*, and the Earth Beelzebub's. (Bo 127, 20.) 153, 23.—Let his history teach all whom it concerns, to . . . say composedly to the Prince of the Power of this lower Earth and Air: Go thou thy way ; I go mine ! (D 336, 25 ff.)

Chapter VIII. 154, 18.—Howling and Ernulphus'-cursing. (D 362, 5.) 155, 10.—The Present is the living sum-total of the whole Past. (Ch 87, 11. G W 209, 17; 258, 12.) *Ibid.*—"Always one age produces and fashions the next: on the golden stands the silver; this forms the brass; and on the shoulders of all stands the iron." (Quoted from Richter, J R 31.) 155 and 156.—The venerator of the Past (and to what pure heart is the past, in that 'moonlight of memory,' other than sad and holy?) sorrows not over its departure, as one utterly bereaved. The true Past departs not; no Truth or Goodness realized by man ever dies, or can die; but is all still here, and, recognized or not, lives and works through endless changes . . . Thus in all Poetry, Worship, Art, Society, as one form passes into another, nothing is lost; it is but the superficial, as it were the *body* only, that grows obsolete and dies; under the mortal body lies a *soul* that is immortal; that anew incarnates itself in fairer revelation. (Ch 86, 28 ff.) 156, 1.—Tubalcain. (C R, 291, 9.) 156, 7 ff. cf. 223, 25. * Laws themselves, political Constitutions, are not our Life, but only the house wherein our life is led: nay, they are but the bare walls of the house; all whose essential furniture, the inventions and traditions, and daily habits that regulate and support our existence, are the work not of Dracos and Hampdens, but of Phœnician mariners,

of Italian masons and Saxon metallurgists, of philosophers, alchemists, prophets, and all the long forgotten train of artists and artisans. (H 248, 2 ff.) 156, 20-157, 18.—But what, after all, is meant by *uneducated*, in a time when Books have come into the world; come to be household furniture in every habitation of the civilized world? In the poorest cottage are Books; is one Book, wherein for several thousands of years the spirit of man has found light, and nourishment, and an interpreting response to whatever is Deepest in him. . . 'In Books lie the creative Phœnix-ashes of the whole Past.' All that men have devised, discovered, done, felt, or imagined, lies recorded in Books; wherein whoso has learned the mystery of spelling printed letters, may find it, and appropriate it. (C R 275, 11. V 82, 19 ff. E G L 431, 21.) 156, 31.—The rude History and Thoughts of those same '*Juifs misérables*', the barbaric War-song of a Deborah and Barak, the rapt prophetic Utterance of an unkempt Isaiah, last now (with deepest significance) say only these three thousand years. (D 380, 17 ff.) 157, 2-6.—What are the conquests and expeditions of the whole corporation of captains, from Walter the Pennyless to Napoleon Bonaparte, compared with these 'movable types' of Johannes Faust? Truly, it is a mortifying thing for your Conqueror to reflect, how perishable is the metal which he hammers with such violence. (V 5, 20. H 247, 25 ff.) 157, 3.—Which actually is a kind of Book, and no empty paste-board case, and simulacrum or 'ghost-defunct' of a Book. (C R 271, 6. B 291, 7.) 159, 2-15.—Thus, do not recruiting sergeants drum through the streets of manufacturing towns, and collect ragged losels enough; every one of whom, if once dressed in red, and trained a little, will receive fire cheerfully for the small sum of one shilling *per diem*, and will have the soul blown out of him at last, with perfect propriety. (Bo 180, 21. E G L 430, 32.) 161, 17.—'All History . . . in so far as it is a affair of memory, can only be reckoned a sapless, heartless thistle for pedantic chaffinches;—but, on the other hand, like Nature, it has highest value, in as far as we, by means of it, as by means of Nature, can divine and read the Infinite Spirit, who, with Nature and History, as with letters, legibly writes to us.' (Quoted from

Richter, J A 191, *Note*.) 161, 15-25.—These are properly our Men, our Great Men; the guides of the dull host,—which follows them as by an irrevocable decree. They are the chosen of the world: they had this rare faculty not only of ‘supposing’ and ‘inclining to think,’ but of *knowing* and *believing*; the nature of their being was, that they lived not by Hearsay but by clear Vision. (Bo 143, 23. S 290, 28.) 161, 18.—‘History,’ it has been said, ‘is the essence of innumerable Biographies.’ (Bi 99, 5. Bo 137 5.) 161, 23.—A natural and harmless feeling attracts us towards such a subject: we are anxious to know how so great a man passed through the world,—how he lived, and moved, and had his being; and the question, if properly investigated, might yield advantage as well as pleasure. (L S 10, 8 ff. V 9, 15.) 161, 24.—At Dijon, there were persons of distinction that wished even to dress themselves as waiters, that they might serve him [Voltaire] at supper, and see him by this stratagem. (V 47, 7. S 264, 11.) 162, 13.—See 144, 31. 164, 10. See 34, 30-34.—The Dwarf and the Giant are alike strong with pistols between them. (E G L 430, 28.) 165, 14.—*Caput mortuum*. (V 72, 22.)

Chapter IX. Cf the similiar experience of Goethe: Till at length, in the third or final period, melodious Reverence becomes triumphant: a deep all-pervading Faith. (G W 255, 33 ff.) 166, 16-19; cf 88, 10 and 34.—This same struggle of human Free-will against material Necessity, which every man’s Life, by the mere circumstance that the man continues alive, will more or less victoriously exhibit. (Bi 97, 3; 99, 22; 108, 12. N L 369, 29. V 34, 8. L S 27, 25; 188, 15. E G L 413, 30. C R 271, 32. G W 226, 9.) 167, 11. cf 177, 17.—To live as he [Goethe] counselled and commanded, not commodiously in the Reputable, the Plausible, the Half, but resolutely in the Whole, the Good, the True: ‘*Im Ganzen, Guten, Wahren resolut zu leben!*’ (D G 205, 27. S 272, 14, and *Note*. D 365, 5 ff; 357, 3; 359, 28. B 342, 25. Bo 138, 24. C R 279, 21.) 167, 19.—He enjoyed the fiery consciousness of his own activity. (L S 239, 8. D 378, 18.) 167, 29—168, 6.—‘The special, sole, and deepest theme of the World’s and Man’s History,’ says the Thinker of our time, ‘whereto all

other themes are subordinated, remains the CONFLICT of UNBELIEF and BELIEF.' (D 380, 28.) 168, 22. cf. 231, 16.—Holy of Holies. (E G L 389, 19.) 169, 14.—The true philosophical Act is annihilation of self (*Selbsttödtung*); this is the real beginning of all Philosophy; all requisites for being a Disciple of Philosophy point hither. This Act alone corresponds to all the conditions and characteristics of transcendental conduct. (Quoted from Novalis, N 124, 22. D 371, 19. B 342, 17. L W 130, 7.) 169, 30-32.—The Life of man was encompassed and over-canopied by a glory of Heaven, even as his dwelling place by the azure vault. (Ch 77, 24.) 171, 12.—God's world, if made a House of Imprisonment, can also be a House of Prayer. (C R 285, 24.) 171, 33.—'Sanctuary of Sorrow.' (N 111, 9.) 172, 24-34.—How mad it is to hope for contentment to our infinite soul from the *gifts* of this extremely finite world! (B 324, 16.) *Ibid.*—The poorest human soul is infinite in wishes. (G H 178, 22.) 173, 8.—Or this small Couplet, which the reader, if he will, may substitute for whole horse-loads of *Essays on the Origin of Evil* . . . : '“What shall I teach thee, the foremost thing?” Couldst teach me off my own Shadow to Spring!’ (G W 257, 1 ff.) 173, 9-174, 16.—With a whirlwind impetuosity he [Faust] rushes forth over the Universe to grasp all excellence; his heart yearns toward the infinite and the invisible: only that he knows not the conditions under which alone this is to be attained. Confiding in his feeling of himself, he has started with the tacit persuasions, so natural to all men, that *he* at least, however it may fare with others, shall and must be *happy*; a deep-seated, though only half-conscious conviction lurks in him, that whenever he is not successful, fortune has dealt with him unjustly . . . For in all his lofty aspirings . . . it has never struck him to inquire . . . by what right *he* pretended to be happy, or could, some short space ago, have pretended to *be* at all. (G H 175, 22 — 176, 4.) 173, 30.—That law of Self-denial, by which alone man's narrow destiny may become an infinitude within itself' (G H 178, 25.) 173, 34.—The sublime lesson of Resignation. (V 35, 17.) 174, 16.—In the nobler Literature of the Germans, say some, lie the rudiments of a new spiritual era . . . at a time when . . . even

our Byrons could utter but a death-song or despairing howl, the Moses'-wand has again smote from that Horeb refreshing streams. (T S 15, 33 — 16, 8.) 174, 16 — 175, 4. cf. 147, 29.—If Happiness mean Welfare, there is no doubt but all men should and must pursue their Welfare, that is to say, pursue what is worthy of their pursuit. But if, on the other hand, Happiness mean, as for most men it does, 'agreeable sensations,' Enjoyment refined or not, then we must observe that there *is* a doubt; or rather there is a certainty the other way. Strictly considered, this truth, that man has in him something higher than a Love of Pleasure, take Pleasure in what sense you will, has been the text of all true Teachers and Preachers, since the beginning of the world. (S 292, 12ff.) 175, 23.—The ancient creative Inspiration, it would seem, is still possible in these ages. (T S 16, 2.) 176, 3-9.—Will Mr. Taylor mention what it was that Voltaire *reformed*? Many things he *de-formed*, deservedly and undeservedly, but the thing that he *formed* or *re-formed* is still unknown to the world. (T S 29, 30. Bo 164, 26; 191, 3. V 69, 21. C R 301, 19.) 176, 16 and 17.—'No explanation is required for Holy Writing. Whoso speaks truly is full of eternal life, and wonderfully related to genuine mysteries does his Writing appear to us.' (Quoted from Novalis, N 114, 20.) *Ibid.*—'Can Miracles work Conviction? Or is not real Conviction, this highest function of our soul and personality, the only true God-announcing Miracle?' (Quoted from Novalis, 128, 26.) 176, 22, and see C's Index under "Bible of Universal History."—In essence and significance it [History] has been called 'the true Epic Poem, and Universal Divine Scripture, *whose* "plenary inspiration" no man (out of Bedlam, or in it) shall bring in question.' (H A 392, 3. C C 2, 33. V 70, 8. J A 191, Note: H 254, 22.) 177, 7.—A mere Ossian's 'feast of shells,'—the food and liquor being all emptied out and clean gone. (Bi 99, 33 ff.) 177, 14.—'Fichte's Philosophy too is perhaps applied Christianity.' (Quoted from Novalis, N 128, 25.) 177, 17. See 167, 11. 177, 26.—Doubt is the indispensable, inexhaustible material whereon Action works, which Action has to fashion into Certainty and Reality. (Ch 73, 6; 75, 9. S T 154, 9.) 177, 31.—Our grand business undoubtedly

is, not to *see* what lies dimly at a distance, but to *do* what lies clearly at hand. (S T 143, 4. Bo 145, 26; 167, 4.) 178, 11. —For he [Goethe] has conquered his unbelief; the Ideal has been built on the actual. (G 249, 28; 231, 25. B 302, 5. S 271, 22. G Po 94, 15. D 365, 3.) 179, 5 and Note.—*Noch ist es Tag, da rühre sich der Mann, Die Nacht tritt ein, wo niemand wirken kann.* (G P 435, 11. Ch 91, 33; 75, 32. G W 267, 7. V 76, 25.)

Chapter X. 180, 5, cf 35, 22 ff. 180, 19.—This noble art [printing], which is like an infinitely intensified organ of Speech. (E G L 431, 21.) 180, 23.—Let a man but speak forth with genuine earnestness the thought, the emotion, the actual condition, of his own heart; and other men . . . must and will give heed to him. (B 297, 33 ff.) 180, 33.—A seed cast into the seedfield of TIME. (C C 14, 16.) 184, 2-11.—[Gives the gist of H.] 184, 17, and Note, also Note on 199, 19.—Serpent-of-eternity. (G W 256, Note.) 185, 26, and Note.—Let us mark well the road he fashioned for himself, and in the dim weltering chaos rejoice to find a paved way. (G W 266, 6. C R 297, 5.)

BOOK III.

Chapter I. 189, 19. cf 192, 25.—Human perfectibility. (L S 147, 18. S 301, 28.) 189, 20-24.—The time may come, when Napoleon himself will be better known for his laws than for his battles; and the victory of Waterloo prove less momentous than the opening of the first Mechanics' Institute. (V 6, 11.) 189, 22. Peterloo. (V 12, 23. Bo 181, 13.) 189, 25. George Fox . . . laboring with a poetic, a religious idea. (G L 79, 11.) 189, 28, and note.—'Divine Idea of the World.' (J A 243, 14. V 21, 1.) 191, 24.—To the young Strasburg student [Goethe] the gods had given their most precious gift . . . a seeing eye and a faithful, loving heart: '*Er hatt' ein Auge treu and klug,*' &c. (G W 250, 21 ff. B 303, 9; 305, 19. Bi 109, 13 and 32. Bo 123, 9; 128 8; 168, 6. C R 280, 20. D 331, 20. H A 386, 29.) 191, 34 and Note.—The grand Vanity fair of the World. (Bo 143, 30.)

Chapter II. 194, 15—195, 12 and *Note* on 194, 28.—But with regard to Morals strictly so called, it is in Society, we might almost say, that Morality begins . . . Man has joined himself with man; soul acts and reacts on soul; a mystic, miraculous, unfathomable Union establishes itself; Life, in all its elements, has become intensated, consecrated. The lightning spark of Thought, generated, or say rather heaven-kindled, in the solitary mind, awakens its express likeness in another mind, in a thousand other minds, and all blaze up together in combined fire. . . Last, as the crown and all-supporting keystone of the fabric, Religion arises. The devout meditation of the isolated man, which flitted through his soul, like a transient tone of Love and Awe from unknown lands, acquires certainty, continuance, when it is shared in by his brother men. 'Where two or three are gathered together,' in the name of the Highest, then first does the Highest, as it is written, 'appear among them to bless them' . . . Such is SOCIETY . . . the standing wonder of our existence; a true region of the supernatural. (Ch 57 and 58.) 195, 22 and 196, 21. cf. 204, 3. A Symbol, indeed [the church], waxing old as doth a garment. (Bo 167, 14.) 195, 31—196, 17. Every Society, every Polity, has a spiritual principle; is the embodiment, tentative, and more or less complete, of an Idea. . . This idea, be it of devotion to a Man or class of Men, to a Creed, to an Institution, or even, as in more ancient times, to a piece of land, is ever a true Loyalty; has in it something of a religious, paramount, quite infinite character; it is properly the Soul of the State, its Life. (Ch 60, 1 ff.) 196, 20-27.—'And when I looked up toward the immeasurable world for the Divine *eye*, it glared down on me with an empty, bottomless *eye-socket*; and eternity lay upon chaos, eating it and re-eating it. Cry on, ye discords! Cry away the shadows, for He is not!' (Quoted from Richter, J R 33. D 361, 34 ff.) 196, 22. cf. 214, 10.—Hollow masks. (J 16, 16.)

Chapter III.—197, 23. cf. 199, 34.—Strangely, from its dim environment, the light of the Highest looks through him. (Bo 143, 5.) 198, 3-26.—Speak not, I passionately entreat thee, till thy thought have silently matured itself, till thou

have other than mad and mad-making noises to emit: *hold thy tongue* (thou hast it a-holding) till *some* meaning lie behind, to set it wagging. Consider the significance of SILENCE: it is boundless . . . 'Speech is silvern, Silence is golden; Speech is human, Silence is divine.' (Bo 139, 7 ff; 182, 11.) 198, 27—199, 11.—What feeling it was in the ancient, devout, deep soul, which of Marriage made *a Sacrament*: this, of all things in the world, is what Denis will think of for æons, without discovering . . . How shall he for whom nothing that cannot be jargoned of in debating-clubs exists, have any faintest forecast of the depth, significance, divineness of SILENCE; of the sacredness of 'Secrets known to all?' (D 368, 29—369, 26. N L 354, 13.) 199, 19. See 184, 17. 199, 34. See 197, 23. 200, 13. See 151, 4. 200, 14-32.—Those attempts to parcel out the invisible, mystical Soul of Man, with its *infinitude* of phases and character, into shop-lists of what are called 'faculties,' 'motives,' and such like. (D 375, 6.) 200, 24.—Genius of Mechanism. (S T 150, 12; 162, 15. Ch 55, 4. D 359, 24; 362, 10; 366, 24; 369, 20.) 201, 11.—For if the Poet, or Priest, or by whatever title the inspired thinker may be named, is the sign of vigor and well-being; so likewise is the Logician, or uninspired thinker, the sign of disease, probably of decrepitude and decay. (Ch 62, 8. B 307, 17.) 201, 29.—Kaiser Joseph. (C C 18, 17.) 203, 11.—'The life of every man,' says our friend Herr Sauerteig, . . . 'is a Poem.' (C C I, 1. G W 207, 22.) 203, 16.—'Death,' says the Philosopher, 'is a commingling of Eternity with Time; in the death of a good man, Eternity is seen looking through Time.' (D G 197, 25. Bo 132, 13. D 357, 32.) 203, 19.—We reckon that every poet of Burns's order is, or should be, a prophet and teacher to his age. (B 341, 23; 345, 10. E G L 440, 34.) 204, 3. See 195, 22.—For will not our own age, one day, be an ancient one; and have as quaint a costume as the rest . . . ? (B 301, 24.) 204, 11.—Mumbo-jumbos. (Bo 144, 4.) 204, 26-29.—For in poetry we have heard of no secret . . . except this one general secret: that the poet be a man of a purer, higher, richer nature than other men; which higher nature shall itself . . . have taught him the proper form for embodying its inspirations, as indeed the imperishable

beauty of these will shine, with more or less distinctness, through any form whatever. (G P 430, 6 ff.) 205, 8.—*This Rag-fair of a world.* (G Po 94, 12.)

Chapter IV. 205, 14.—Repression of Population. (Ch 66, 22. C C 2, 14; 26, 13. This last passage suggests the subject of the chapter.) 206, 19ff.—How comes it, that he alone of all the British rustics who tilled and lived along with him, on whom the blessed sun on that same 'fifth day of September' was shining, should have chanced to rise on us; that this four pair of clouted shoes, out of the million million hides that have been tanned, and cut, and worn, should still subsist, and hang visibly together? (Bi 107, 18.) 206, 25.—Though but a hard-handed peasant, a complete and fully unfolded *Man*. (B 322, 17.) 206, 31.—Defaced and obstructed yet glorious man; archangel though in ruins,—or rather, though in *rubbish*, of encumbrances and mud-incrustations, which also are not to be perpetual. (Bo 170, *Note*.) 207, 4-13.—Clear, in the meanwhile, it is that the true Spiritual Edifier and Soul's-Father of all England was, and till very lately continued to be, the man named Samuel Johnson. (Bo 176, 23. C R 287, 9.) 207, 20 ff.—How were it if we surmised, that for a man gifted with natural vigor, with a man's character to be developed in him, more especially if in the way of Literature, as Thinker and Writer, it is actually, in these strange days no special misfortune to be trained up among the Uneducated classes, and not among the Educated; but rather of two misfortunes the smaller? (C R 272, 30 ff.) 207, 32 ff.—The Craftsman, too, has an inheritance in Earth; and even in Heaven. (C R 291, 10.) 208, 13.—There are some thirty-six persons that manifest it [the Courage that dares only *die*] . . . during every second of time. (Bo 180, 30.) 209, 1 ff. Mournful enough, that a white, European man must pray wistfully for what the horse he drives is sure of. (C R 293, 10.)

Chapter V. (For the general idea of the chapter see Ch 58, 32 ff; 65, 2ff. cf. G W 259, 6; C R 269, 10; 275, 22. D 342, 33. C C 28, 13, 29, 2. Bo 160, 6.) 210, 29.—See 107, 5. 211, 10.—Sad to look upon, in the highest stage of civilization, nine-tenths of mankind must struggle in the lowest battle of

savage or even animal man, the battle against Famine. (Ch 67, 27.) 212, 7. cf 214, 16.—Utilitarian. (V 1, 5. G W 223, 15.) 'Laws of Mechanism'. (Quoted from Novalis, V 79, 14. H 252, 27.) 213, 14-24.—The fever of Skepticism must needs burn itself out, and burn out thereby the Impurities that caused it; then again will there be clearness, health. The principle of Life, which now struggles painfully, in the outer, thin and barren domain of the Conscious or Mechanical, may then withdraw into its inner Sanctuaries, its abysses of mystery and Miracle; withdraw deeper than ever into that domain of the Unconscious, by nature infinite and inexhaustible; and creatively work there. (Ch 88, 19 ff.) 213, 21 and Note.—'Vested interests.' (S T 159, 15.) 214, 10. See 196, 22. 214, 16.—Utilitarian. (V 1, 5. T S 30, 32. G L 61, 10.) 214, 24-28.—So that Society, were it by nature immortal, and its death ever a new birth, might appear, as it does in the eyes of some, to be sick to dissolution, and even now writhing in its last agony. (Ch 68, 12.)

Chapter VI. 217, 17. See 58, 1-10. 217, 23.—'The father of all such as wear shovel-hats.' (D 357, 10. Bo 116, 19.) 219, 17.—How grim was Life to him; a sick Prison-house. (Bo 182, 17. Ch 47, 19. C R 285, 25.) 220, 2.—Dionysius' Ear. (V 26, 24.) 220, 25. Delphic Oracle. (V 27, 10. S T 146, 10.)

Chapter VII. (For the subject matter of the chapter, see S T 167-171; T S 42, last ¶; Ch 85; G W 259.) 222, 3.—Alas, with us and with our sons (for a generation or two), it is almost still worse,—were it not that in Birth-throes there is ever hope, in Death-throes the final departure of Hope. (C C 25, 3. G W 212, 18. D 371, 21.) 223, 25 ff. See 156, 7ff. 225, 17.—Thus the universal title of respect, from the Oriental *Scheik*, from the *Sachem* of the red Indians, down to our English Sir, implies only that he whom we mean to honor is our *Senior*. (Ch 57, 33ff.) 225, 26.—*Kenned*, which in those days still partially meant *canned*. (C R 276, 5.) 225, 33.—The true Autocrat and Pope is that man, the real or seeming Wisest of the past age; crowned after death; who finds his Hierarchy of gifted Authors, his clergy of assiduous journalists; whose

Decretals, written not on parchment, but on the living souls of men, it were an inversion of the Laws of Nature to disobey. (T S 41, 26.) 227, 32 ff.—Great men are the Fire-pillars in this dark pilgrimage of mankind; they stand as heavenly Signs; ever-living witnesses of what has been, prophetic token of what may still be, the revealed, embodied Possibilities of human nature; which greatness he who has never seen, or rationally conceived of, and with his whole heart passionately loved and revered, is himself forever doomed to be little. (S 265, 4 ff. C C 1, 16.) 228.—(For the reverence of past men, see G W 212-218.) 228, 7ff.—Reverence, the highest feeling that man's nature is capable of, the crown of his whole moral manhood and precious like fine gold. (V 20, 19 ff. Bo 130, 15. G W 209 ff.) 228, 15.—Hero-worship. (Bo 127, 13.) 228, 31. 'Whenever a De Staël, with all her knowledge of our languages and authors . . . continues, nevertheless, Gothic in tongue and taste, what blossom-crops are we to look for from the dry timber? (Quoted from Richter, J R 35.) 229, 8.—There is, even to the modest man, no greatness so venerable as intellectual, as spiritual greatness; nay properly there is no other venerable at all. (Bo 170, *Note*.) 229, 15—230, 15.—'The man of Letters is, by instinct, opposed to a Priesthood of old standing: the literary class and the clerical must wage a war of extermination, when they are divided; for both strive after one place.' (Quoted from Novalis, V 77, 17 ff. T S 41, 29. Ch 62, 2; 70, 4; 89, 33. D 330, 19. L S 63, 19; 235, 30. H 256, 9. S 274, 10 ff.) 230, 1.—Religion, Poetry, is not dead; it will never die. (G L 93, 17. V 80, 21.) 230, 3.—The lowest of froth Prose. (Bi 100, 10; 112, 21.) 230, 11.—'Melody of Wisdom.' (G W 268, 1 and 17. C R 281, 34.) 230, 15.—We hold Goethe to be the Foreigner, at this era, who, of all others, the best, and the best by many degrees, deserves our study and appreciation. (G H 219, 15; 163, 12. D G 202, 11. G W 268, 29. Similar praise is given to Richter, J A 176, 15.) 230, 17, and *Note*.—How can your publishing avail, when there was no vision in it? (H A 386, 28.) 230, 29. See 161, 17.

Chapter VIII. (For the title, see G W 262, 13. For a part of the contents anticipated, see review of the Kantian philosophy, N 109 ff. M pp 308-309.) 231, 16.—See 168, 22. 234, 1 ff.—These men and these things, we indeed know, did swim, by strength or by specific levity (as apples or as horse-dung), on the top of the current: but is it by painfully noting the courses, eddyings, and bobbings hither and thither of such drift-articles that you will unfold to me the nature of the current itself; of that mighty-rolling, loud-roaring, Life-current, bottomless as the foundations of the Universe, mysterious as its Author? (Bo 134, 25 ff.) 234, 23.—For the rest, let that vain struggle to read the mystery of the Infinite cease to harass us. It is a mystery which, through all ages, we shall only read here a line of. (Ch 91, 24.) 235, 16.—For the most part, the Common is to him still the Common . . . Herein Schiller . . . differs essentially from most great poets; and from none more than from his great contemporary, Goethe. (S 300, 27 ff. Ch 90, 30.) 236, 17 ff. See 34, 18-21. 236, 29.—*Fortunatus*. (E G L 416, 21.) 237, 17.—A little row of Naphtha-lamps . . . burns clear and holy through the dead night of the Past: they who are gone are still here; though hidden they are revealed, though dead they yet speak. (Bo 133, 27.) 237, 19.—Memory and hope. (L S 108, 12.) 239, 10 ff.—The true poet who is but the inspired Thinker, is still an Orphens whose Lyre tames the savage beasts, and evokes the dead rocks to fashion themselves into palaces and stately inhabited cities. (T S 41, 16.) 239, 21.—Music of the spheres. (Ch 47, 9. D 380, 26.) 240, 7.—The aspect of the Infinite Universe still fills him with an Infinite feeling; he soars free aloft, and the sunny regions of Poesy and Freedom gleam golden afar on the widened horizon. (C R 286, 2.) 240, 17—Ghost of Cock-lane! (C C 25, 22.) 240, 31—Like a fair, heavenly Apparition, which indeed he was, he has melted into air. (N L 381, 24. C C 1, 8.) 241, 1-10.—As if Bedlam had broken loose; as if rather (in that 'spiritual Twelfth-hour of the Night') the everlasting Pit had opened itself, and from *its* still blacker bosom had issued madness and all manner of shapeless Misbirths, to masquerade and chatter there . . . In that stertorous last fever-sleep of our Euro-

pean world, must not Phantasms enough (born of the Pit, as all such *are*) flit past, in ghastly masquerading and chattering? (C C 25, 22.) 241, 12.—Spectre Hunt. (T S 3, 13.) 241, 20.—The real spiritual *Apparitions* (who have been named Men). (G W 208, 18.) 242. See 17, 28.—The Mitre Tavern still stands in Fleet Street: but where now is its scot-and-lot paying, beef-and-ale loving, cocked-hatted, potbellied Landlord; its rosy-faced, assiduous Landlady . . . ? Gone! Gone! The becking waiter, that with wreathed smiles, wont to spread for Samuel and Bozzy their 'supper of the gods,' has long since pocketed his last sixpence; and vanished, sixpences and all, like a ghost at cock-crowing. . . . All, all, has vanished; in very deed and truth, like that baseless fabric of Prospero's air-vision. (Bo 133, 2 ff. D G 205, 13.) 242, 23.—Still deeper than this *Whence* were the question of *Whither*. (D 334, 4.) 242, 26 ff. (This quotation from the *Tempest* was made by Richter, and is quoted by C, J A 237, 27 ff. C R 287, 15 ff.)

Chapter IX. 245, 16. See 60, 1 ff. 245, 26.—Magna charta. (H A 390, 28.) 246, 1.—'Codification.'—(S T 156, 12.)

Chapter X. (For the fundamental idea of this chapter, see G W 217, last ¶. For the "Poor-Slave" idea, see Ch 67, 9. Bo 151, 19; 169, 9.) 251, 31.—Pipe . . . on so many scannell straws. (S T 166, 17) 255, 6.—By the three monastic vows he was not bound. (S T 166, 13.) 256, 27.—Mere potatoes-and-point! (C C 47, 27.) 256, 18.—'Rhizophagous.' (G W 249, 16.) 259, 28—260, 15.—What changes, too, this addition of power is introducing into the social system; how wealth has more and more increased, and at the same time gathered itself more and more into masses, strangely altering the old relations, and increasing the distance between the rich and the poor, will be a question for Political Economists, and a much more complex and important one than any they have yet engaged with. (S T 147, 32 ff. C R 283.) 260, 16-34.—In such a state of things, there lay abundant principles of discord: these two influences hung like fast gathering electric clouds, as yet on opposite sides of the horizon, but with a malignity of aspect, which boded, whenever they might meet, a sky of fire and blackness, thunderbolts to waste the earth, and

the sun and stars, though but for a season, to be blotted out from the heavens. (V 23, 20 ff.)

Chapter XI. (For suggestions of the subject of this chapter, see Bo 130, 19. G W 213, 36.) 262, 4.—Pelion upon Ossa. (J 16, 8.)

Chapter XII. 267, 11.—Dashing his brush against the canvass. (D 377, 22.) 267, 17. See 7, 4. 267, 33.—Two ghastly Apparitions, unreal *simulacra* both, HYPOCRISY and ATHEISM are already, in silence, parting the world. (Bo 160, 24 ff.) 268, 7. See 3, 14. 16, 33.—Watch-tower. (C C 28, 4.)

Appendix: Testimonies of Authors, pp. 399-404. Now your Reviewer is a mere *taster*; who tastes, and says, by the evidence of such palate, such tongue, as he has got—It is good; it is bad. (Ch 71, 25.) In what is called reviewing such a book as this, we are aware that to the judicious craftsman two methods present themselves. The first and most convenient is for the Reviewer to perch himself resolutely, as it were, on the shoulder of his Author, and therefrom to show as if he commanded him, and looked down on him by natural superiority of stature. Whatever the great man says or does, the little man shall treat with an air of knowingness and light condescending mockery; professing, with much covert sarcasm, that this and that other is beyond *his* comprehension, and cunningly asking his readers if they comprehend it! Herein it will help him mightily, if, besides description, he can quote a few passages, which, in their detached state, and taken most probably in quite a wrong acceptation of the words, shall sound strange, and to certain hearers, even absurd; all which will be easy enough, if he have any handiness in the business, and address the right audience. (N 86, 21 ff.)

A glance at the passages quoted above will show, what might naturally have been expected, that the most characteristic ideas of *Sartor* are those most frequently anticipated. As the metaphysical significance of the clothes philosophy begins to appear (Book I, chapter VIII and X), the parallels multiply. The glorification of childhood, and the stern repression of youth under mechanical systems of education, are favorite ideas (Book II, chapters II and III). While the memorable

chapters describing the spiritual experience of one passing from doubt to faith had many fore-runners (chapters VII, VIII, IX). In Book III, the philosophical aspect of the clothes idea, and its application to human Society, are paramount, and were many times gradually approached (see especially chapters III to VIII). Goethe and Schiller, besides their personal experiences, contributed several suggestions of detail.⁽¹⁾ So also did Novalis and Richter.⁽²⁾ While to Johnson, as Professor Mac Mehan has shown, Carlyle owed his famous shibboleth of Cant.⁽³⁾ All this does not materially detract from Carlyle's originality. He was as original as it is possible for mankind to be: he assimilated what he found, and transfused it with new meaning.

Final NOTE.—An examination of Carlyle's *Historical Sketches*, London, 1898, shows that the work, though comparatively early, had its practical commencement in 1843, and so is outside the scope of the present inquiry. J. A. S. Barrett's edition of *Sartor Resartus*, London, 1897, contains much interesting material in relation to the earlier essays and the translations from the German.⁽⁴⁾

(1) See on 55, 4; 83, 16; 86, 11 (cf M's Note); 88, 10 (cf M's Note); 167, 11; 173, 8.

(2) 1, 19; 47, 3-5; 48, 23; 61, 20; 90, 1; 147, 19; 155, 10; 161, 17; 169, 14; 177, 14; 229, 15.

(3) See on 9, 32, and M's Note. (4) For metaphors and other suggestions from Richter, see notes in Barrett's edition, pp 65, 75, 76, 81, 83, 86, 106, 139, 163, 176, 183, 189, 192, 193, 199, 204, 273, 279, 282. For evidences of indebtedness to Goethe, see Barrett, notes on pp 67, 75, 141, 147, 164, 167, 170, 173, 178, 203, 218, 264. For suggestions from Novalis, see pp 97, 187, 254, 261.

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